Daily Report

East Europe

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Warsaw Pact's Lushev Begins Budapest Visit

Welcomed by Defense Minister

LD0704103189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] The commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces has arrived in Budapest. Army General Petr Lushev was received at Ferihegy Airport by Defense Minister Colonel General Ferenc Karpati.

Received by Grosz, Nemeth

LD0704124789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1200 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] The Hungarian party and state leadership will consider the existence of the Warsaw Pact necessary and justified as long as military alliance systems exist in Europe. This was stated by Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party when, in the company of Miklos Nemeth, head of government, he received Army General Petr Lushev, the new commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces.

At the same time, Karoly Grosz stressed that our country urges the modernization of the military alliance and that it will in the future take a decisive stand in favor of the simultaneous elimination of the military blocs.

Colonel General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defense, also took part in the meeting.

Departs Budapest 7 Mar

LD0704172189 Budapest MTI in English 1543 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Budapest, April 7 (MTI)—Colonel General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence, held talks on topical military policy issues and further cooperation with Army General Pyotr Lushev, commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member states, and Army General Vladimir Lobov, chief-of-staff of the Joint Armed Forces, in Budapest on Friday [7 April].

Army Generals Pyotr Lushev and Vladimir Lobov left Buapest Friday in the afternoon.

CEMA Planning Officials' Session Continues

Grosz Receives Officials

LD0704195789 Budapest MTI in English 1855 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Budapest, April 7 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP], met on Friday [7 April] the leaders of the central planning organs of the CMEA countries, who are in Hungary for the 44th session of the CMEA Planning Cooperation Committee.

The HSWP general secretary outlined the problems of the Hungarian economy, and said that the consistent and coordinated continuation of political and economic reform is indispensable for the consolidation of the economy and for laying the foundations of social advance. Mr Grosz stressed that the radical renewal of the CMEA is in the interest of Hungary. In view of the fact that the interests and opportunities of the individual countries are not identical, it is expedient to put the new solutions into practice more quickly in all areas of bilateral and multilateral relations where conditions are sufficiently mature. A genuine answer can be given to the challenges deriving from the West European integration process with the renewal of the national economies and the radical transformation of socialist cooperation.

The leaders of the planning offices of the CMEA countries forwarded the greetings of the leaders of their Communist and workers' parties. Mr Grosz requested the leaders to forward his good wishes to the leaders of the fraternal parties.

Planning Session Ends 7 Apr

LD0704182189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1704 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Excerpts] Budapest (ADN)—The 44th session of the CEMA Planning Committee ended on Friday in Budapest after 2 days of deliberations. [passage omitted]

The delegation leaders were received for an exchange of views by Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. On this occasion, Gerhard Schuerer conveyed cordial greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, which were reciprocated with equal cordiality by Karoly Grosz. For Hungary, CEMA remains in the long term an important factor in economic development, the MSZMP general secretary stated, but there is support for its modernization. This relates among other things to commodity-money relations and a debureaucratization of the CEMA structure, as well as the creation of a common market. The further development of the socialist economic community is based on capable national economies.

The MSZMP general secretary went on to provide details of the current domestic political situation in Hungary and his latest talks with CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev. [passage omitted]

During the session, a series of bilateral meetings took place between the chairmen of the central planning organs of the CEMA countries. Gerhard Schuerer met with Janos Hoos, chairman of the Hungarian National Planning Office and Yuriy Maslyukov, chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee and first deputy chairman of the chairmen of the Council of Ministers. [passage omitted]

Prague Symposium Discusses Common European Home

Zagladin Views Common Home

AU0504112689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Apr 89 p 1

[RUDE PRAVO correspondent Marek Dobrovolny report: "International Colloquium on European Home; Living Under One Roof"]

[Excerpts] Prague (our correspondent) — A colloquium with international attendance on the theme "Common European Home—Concepts and Prospects" opened in Prague on Friday [31 March]. For 3 days deputies, senators, politicians, economists, political scientists, and other experts will exchange views on a subject that concerns all inhabitants of the European Continent. The sponsor of the colloquium is the Czechoslovak Committee for European Security and Cooperation. [passage omitted]

RUDE PRAVO's correspondent asked some of the participants: In your opinion, what is the practical importance of the Prague colloquium?

Vadim Zagladin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and an adviser to the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, said: "I think that the importance of the meeting is considerable. Many political and social movements are represented here. This is important. Thus far, the European dialogue has been developing at the level of states. But there has not been enough dialogue on the sociopolitical level—it still has not developed. State representatives are constrained by diplomatic relations which constitute a certain curtailment. There are no curtailments here. Pleasant and unpleasant things are voiced openly. I do not think that one has to avoid what is unpleasant, but one has to reply whenever necessary and, at the same time, not overestimate what is pleasant. If we agree on the basics here, then this will certainly aid the talks between statesmen." [passage omitted]

The participants in the international colloquium were received by Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, the same day. Rudolf Rohlicek, acting deputy chairman of the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front, arranged a friendly get-together for them.

On the same day, Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, received Etienne Mange, member of the Political Bureau and secretary for international affairs of the Socialist Party (Flemish), who is taking part in the colloquium.

Further Zagladin Remarks

LD0104194389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 1 Apr 89

[From the "Magazine Program"; report by David Stahlavsky on interview with Vadim Zagladin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and Gorbachev adviser, by journalists in Prague on 1 April—Zagladin remarks recorded in Russian with superimposed Czech translation]

[Text] One of those in Prague taking part in the international colloquium "Common European Home—Notions and Prospects," is Vadim Zagladin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and an adviser to the chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. David Stahlavsky now reports on his conversation today with Zagladin at this important international undertaking:

[Stahlavsky] First of all, I asked Comrade Zagladin how he views the specifics of similar international undertakings such as the international colloquium in Prague. He replied:

[Zagladin] During the past 5 to 6 years I have attended a number of similar seminars. In my opinion each of them has been a step forward. The important thing is, in particular, that representatives of various political parties and forces from individual countries are able to meet at these. I see progress also in that while a few years ago we would be accusing each other, today we are examining problems far more soberly and deliberatively. Simply put, political thinking has changed in Europe and has contributed to our continent developing as a single whole. This is a totally new and positive moment.

[Stahlavsky] As the very title of the symposium "Common European Home—Notions and Prospects" indicates, the debate at the colloquium in Prague is above all about the realization of the idea voiced for the first time 2 years ago during Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Prague. Therefore, the journalists present at the brief informal talks with Comrade Zagladin asked what he thought was preventing the creation of a common European home. He replied:

[Zagladin] I believe that two processes are currently under way in Europe. One, which is an all-European one, is concentrated on the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act of the CSCE. At the present time this is centered on the implementation of the documents adopted at the Vienna follow-up meeting. This has very significantly and positively changed the political climate and psychological atmosphere. It also reflects changes in international politics such as a reduction of tension, the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, and the development of economic and cultural relations and progress in the tackling of humanitarian concerns. Then there is a process that we could term a confrontational one. Although it is not as powerful as before, despite this it manifests itself, especially in the West, in the plans for

the modernization of tactical nuclear and conventional weapons and in new military projects. These two processes, that is the all-European one and the confrontational one, contradict each other. The principal question is which of them will triumph. How do you tackle these problems? In my opinion, especially by the consistent building of the common European home. Only in this way will it be possible to weaken confrontation.

[Stahlavsky] My final question to Vadim Zagladin was which of the problems contained in the idea of creating a common European home has to be tackled first?

[Zagladin] The principal question is that of security. Its tackling directly affects the other ones. But naturally there are also a whole number of problems, including some outside Europe, the solution of which cannot be delayed any longer. The most important one is the environment. The proposal put forward by your Premier Ladislav Adamec to convene in Prague a meeting of the premiers of neighboring countries on environmental issues in central Europe is well known. Others problems concern, for instance, the north or the Balkans. We are, of course, also concerned about other issues: energy resources, drug abuse, terrorism, and AIDS. Although the issue of disarmament takes priority, one cannot restrict oneself to it alone. It is necessary to simultaneously tackle all new problems.

Colloquium Concludes 2 Apr

AU0504182989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Apr 89 pp 1, 2

[Report by RUDE PRAVO correspondent Marek Dobrovolny: "Prague Colloquium on Common Home Has Ended; Overcoming Prejudices of the Past"]

[Excerpts] Prague (our correspondent)—The idea of the common European home was first expressed by the highest Soviet representative, Mikhail Gorbachev, in Prague 2 years ago. Almost everyone agrees that it is necessary for the way one should proceed to be clarified, but so far this does not exist. The Czechoslovak Committee for European Security and Cooperation proceeded from this premise when it prepared, with international cooperation, the 3-day colloquium entitled "Common European Home—Concepts and Prospects," which ended in Prague on Sunday [2 April]. [passage omitted]

The sponsor's objective was above all to facilitate the broadest possible exchange of views. The participants moved from one working group to another. At the colloquium completely contradictory views cropped up which, however, with a few exceptions, were not of a confrontational nature. [passage omitted]

The colloquium did not adopt any final document or declaration. None was planned. The deliberations of the working groups and the plenary session were held behind closed doors, without journalist attending. This was to make it possible for everyone to express his views with maximum openness. [passage omitted]

Hager Meets Party History Officials

LD0604162289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1428 GMT 6 Apr 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, emphasized on Thursday [6 April] in a meeting with directors and other leading representatives of scientific establishments of central committees of Communist and workers' parties as well as from other Marxist research centers the responsibility of party historians with reference to the ideological clash concerning legacy and tradition. The directors had already concluded a 3-day exchange of information and experience on the work of their institutes and on the research and evaluation of party history.

Taking part in the meeting were directors and representatives of the relevant establishments from Bulgaria, the FRG, China, the CSSR, India, Italy, Cambodia, the DPRK, Cuba, Mongolia, the Netherlands, Austria, Poland, Romania, Hungary, the USSR, and Vietnam.

G. Smirnov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute of the CPSU Central Committee, assessed the talks as a useful exchange of experience and a good contribution to the further deepening of cooperation between the research establishments of the fraternal parties.

Malile Censures SFRY Ambassador on Kosovo

AU0704191289 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Minister of Foreign Affairs Reis Malile today received Novak Pribicevic, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in Tirana.

At this meeting, Comrade Reis Malile dealt with problems pertaining to the future development of Albanian-Yugoslav relations. He pointed out that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has always pursued a policy of good-neighborliness with all neighboring states, including Yugoslavia. Albania's policy toward its neighbors is not a policy dictated by changing circumstances, but a permanent strategic stand, seeking the preservation of peace and security in the Balkans and in Europe.

At the same time, Comrade Reis Malile drew the Yugoslav ambassador's attention to the insinuations against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania currently being disseminated by the Yugoslav side, particularly in connection with events in Kosovo. What is happening in Kosovo, Comrade Reis Malile declared, is a real tragedy. This is a consequence of the serious economic situation and of a very mistaken policy pursued with regard to the Albanians, a policy that considers neither the lessons of history, nor the present-day reality. We have always stated and reiterate now that we do not interfere in Yugoslavia's internal affairs, that the situation of political, economic, and national crises in Yugoslavia has no direct or indirect links with Albania; that neither in the past nor at present have we ever supported any reactionary force or terrorist, counterrevolutionary, and warmongering element who would seek the destruction of Yugoslavia or disturb the peace in the Balkans.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania rejects all accusations intended to make it responsible for the events in Kosovo. We have always stated and reiterate now that the problems of Kosovo cannot be resolved by seeking guilty parties outside the borders.

Like all progressive international public opinion and like all honest people in Yugoslavia, Socialist Albania has expressed and continues to express its legitimate concern about the fate of the Albanian brethren in Yugoslavia; it has expressed and continues to express its profound sorrow over what is happening to over 2 million Albanians; it has expressed and continues to express its regret and resolute disapproval of the fact that tanks and police violence were used, that the blood of scores of people, including that of children and adolescents, was shed, instead of initiating a democratic dialogue about the problems of the Albanian population in connection with their national and democratic rights and freedoms.

In conclusion, Minister Reis Malile stressed for the Yugoslav ambassador that Albania wishes the normal development of relations with federal Yugoslavia on the basis of noninterference, mutual respect, and good-neighborliness. The normalization of the situation in Kosovo through a constructive dialogue with its population, and the desire to find a solution acceptable to all concerned would help create the spirit of trust and understanding which, unfortunately, is missing today, but which is so necessary and which is not only in the interest of the peoples of Yugoslavia, but also in the interest of fruitful cooperation between the Balkan countries, peace, and security.

Romanian Delegation Concludes Talks, Departs

Alia, Andrei Discuss Minorities

AU0804162489 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1600 GMT 8 Apr 89

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, received Romanian Deputy Premier Stefan Andrei, who has come to Albania leading a government economic delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The meeting was also attended by Farudin Hoxha, minister attached to the Council of Ministers. Gheroghe Pop, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, was also present.

During the meeting, both sides expressed a desire to further promote relations between the two countries. The talks also covered the present situation in the Balkans, as well as problems related to strengthening peace and security in the region.

Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out, among other things, that the situation of ethnic minorities is currently drawing general attention and, in some cases, has been transformed into a considerably acute problem. Such is the case of Albanians living in Yugoslavia, against whom a policy is pursued that tramples on their national rights and democratic freedoms. Comrade Ramiz Alia expressed his concern about the situation created in Yugoslavia, which has led to the establishment of a state of emergency, the use of police violence, and the killing of dozens of people in Kosovo. These acts, he went on to say, also go against the process that has begun in the Balkans to establish good-neighborliness and to preserve peace in our peninsula and beyond. Respect for the rights of minorities, which are also recognized by international law, he stressed, are a prerequisite and essential base to promote trust and understanding among the Balkan states.

Andrei Conveys Ceausescu Greetings

AU0904161189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1548 GMT 9 Apr 89

[Text] Tirana AGERPRES, 9/4/1989—From President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's

Socialist Republic of Albania, was conveyed a salute and the best wishes. Ramiz Alia conveyed Nicolae Ceausescu a salute and the best wishes, and the Romanian people wishes of success in its work devoted to Romania's development.

The exchanges of messages was occasioned by the call in Tirana on Ramiz Alia by Romanian Deputy Prime Minister Stefan Andrei. During the cordial talk on the occasion stress was laid on the importance of the development of the traditional Romanian-Albanian relations of friendship, on the joint wish to raise the economic and cultural cooperation, the political ties between Romania and Albania onto a higher stage, in the interest of the two peoples, of the cause of peace and understanding in the Balkans, in Europe and the world over.

During his visit to Albania Stefan Andrei had talks with Pali Miska, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and signed the accord between the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania on economic, industrial and technical cooperation, as well as the protocol of the first joint commission of cooperation in this domain. Stefan Andrei had interviews and talks on the stage and prospects of the development of the Romanian-Albanian links with Besnik Bekteshi, minister of industry, mining and energy, Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs, Niko Gjyzari, chairman of the State Planning Commission Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade. The interviews and talks passed in a cordial, friendly atmosphere.

Delegation Departs 9 April

AU0904190389 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 9 Apr 89

[Text] The government economic delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania headed by Stefan Andrei, deputy prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, left our country today.

The delegation was seen off at Rinas Airport by Pali Miska, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Gani Cemo, deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission; and other comrades. Gheorghe Pop, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, was also present.

During its stay in our country, the Romanian delegation visited economic and cultural institutions in the districts of Tirana, Berat, Fier, Durres, and Kruje.

Malile Receives Laotian Delegation

AU0804134589 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, today received the delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, led by Vice Foreign Minister Soulivong Phasitthidet, which is paying an official and friendly visit to our country.

During the meeting, which took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere, opinions were exchanged on relations between the two countries and on some current political questions.

The talks were also attended by Vanheuang Vongvichit, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos in Tirana.

Norwegian Ambassador Presents Credentials

AU0804134489 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Ramiz Alia, chairman of the People's Assembly Presidium of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, today received Georg Krane, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of Norway, who presented his credentials.

The ceremony was also attended by Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs; Sihat Tozaj, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Andon Berxholi, departmental director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Kostaq Cifligu, chief of the Protocol Branch of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Leaders' Public Appearances 1-7 April

AU0704163389

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 1 and 7 April reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (date and time of report given in parentheses):

Besnik Bekteshi, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee [AWP] Politburo member and minister of industry and mines, received a Romanian Government economic delegation on 6 April. (1600 GMT 6 Apr 89)

Foto Cami, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, attended on 3 April celebrations held in Sarande District on the 45th anniversary of a local partisan unit. (1800 GMT 3 Apr 89)

Hajredin Celiku, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of transportation, received on 5 April a delegation from the SFRY. (1800 GMT 5 Apr 89)

Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs, received a Romanian Government economic delegation on 6 April. (1600 GMT 6 Apr 89)

Pali Miska, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received on 5 April a Romanian Government delegation. (1800 GMT 5 Apr 89)

Belorussian Premier Kovalev Concludes Visit

Holds Talks With Atanasov

AU0704142189 Sofia BTA in English 1335 GMT 7 Apr 89

["Bulgaria-Belorussian SSR: New Quality Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 7 (BTA)—Today were held the conclusive talks between Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, and Mr Mikhail Kovalev, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], who is on a five-day friendly visit to this country. The leaders of the two governments expressed joint opinion that the mutual cooperation marks new level, that it is raised to a qualitatively new level in compliance with the present conditions. It was stressed that the contacts between Bulgaria and Belorussia should be viewed in the context of the relations between Bulgaria and the USSR, of the policy oriented toward all-round getting closer between the two countries. A concrete expression of the desire for deepening of the relations is the signing of the agreement for development of the economic and techno-scientific cooperation between Bulgaria and the Belorussian Republic for the 1989-1995 period. The chief aim of the document signed by Mr Georgi Atanasov and Mr Mikhail Kovalev is to increase the efficiency of the economy, the well-being of the peoples on the basis of increased trade, development of specialisation and cooperation, rational utilization of production capacities, the development and transference of highly efficient technological processes and machines.

The envisaged forms of cooperation are also important. Most of all these are direct production and techno-scientific relations between economic and scientific branches for the establishing of joint enterprises and associations. Direct exchange of consumer goods is also envisaged.

The concrete spheres of cooperation are as follows: electronics, especially the development and production of personal computers, the chemical and microbiological industry, mechanical engineering, instrument building, culture, sport, tourism, as well as cooperation in the sphere of mass media.

Departs 7 April

AU1004092389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Apr 89 p 6

[Text] Mikhail Kovalev, Belorussian premier, departed Bulgaria on 7 April. At Sofia airport, he was cordially seen off by Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations; Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs; and other officials. Georgi Pankov, Bulgarian ambassador to the USSR, and Viktor Sharapov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria, were also at the airport.

Ukrainian Premier Masol Arrives 10 April

AU1004092289 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 10 Apr 89

[Text] Vitaliy Masol, Ukrainian premier, arrived in Bulgaria on 10 April on a friendly visit at the invitation of Comrade Georgi Atanasov.

At Sofia airport, the guest was greeted by Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations, and other officials.

Trade Agreement Signed With USSR in Sofia

AU0804135189 Sofia BTA in English 1943 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Sofia, April 7 (BTA)—In 1990 Bulgaria and the Soviet Union will exchange 1,000 million roubles' worth of whole projects, investment equipment and engineering services. The figure was agreed at talks here between delegations of the two countries' Ministries of Foreign Economic Relations.

"Bulgaria will receive Soviet deliveries to the value of 500 million roubles which will go into major economic projects: power plants, metallurgical works, coal-mining facilities and the socially important first stage of Sofia's underground railway system," said the chief Bulgarian negotiator Mr Konstantin Rusinov, deputy minister of foreign economic relations.

These deliveries are the most important prerequisites for the implementation of the programme for this five-year period and for the preparations of the next five years.

In return, Bulgaria will supply the Soviet Union with electronics and textile machinery. Bulgarian experts and workers will help the Soviet Union build projects along the Progress natural gas main running from Yamburg to the western border of the USSR.

Zhivkov, Atanasov Greet Hungary on National Day

AU0504104889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Apr 89 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the State Council, and Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, have sent the following telegram to Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party; Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic; and Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers.

Dear comrades, on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and personally in our own

names, we ask you to accept most sincere congratulations and cordial good wishes on the occasion of your country's national day—the 44th anniversary of the liberation of Hungary.

We are convinced that the results of the processes of restructuring and renewal under way in every socialist country, including the Hungarian People's Republic, acquire particular importance at the present turning point for the development of the world and socialism.

We believe that the traditional fraternal relations between our two countries will continue in the future to develop for the good of our peoples and in the interest of socialism and world peace.

On this, your country's national day, we send our heartfelt goods wishes to you, dear comrades, to the Hungarian Communists, and to all of the Hungarian people for new successes in the struggle to renew and strengthen the socialist society, for the advancement of the Hungarian People's Republic.

National Assembly Delegation Leaves for Warsaw

AU0704132289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Apr 89 p 6

[Text] A group of National Assembly deputies led by Atanas Dimitrov, deputy chairman of the National Assembly, left for Warsaw yesterday evening [4 April]. It will take part in the session of the working group on parliamentary cooperation between the Warsaw Pact states.

Khristov Meets With Austrian Economic Minister

AU0704064989 Sofia BTA in English 2102 GMT 6 Apr 89

["Bulgaria, Austria: Intensive Economic Dialogue"—BTA headline]

[Text] Vienna, April 6 (BTA)—Mr Robert Graf, minister of economy of Austria, today had a meeting with Mr Khristo Khristov, minister at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and head of a 40-member economic delegation who are paying a visit to Austria in connection with the days of bulgarian economy.

The two ministers highly assessed this event and exchanged views on the concrete possibilities for the promotion and the extension of Bulgaro-Austrian economic cooperation. Mr Khristo Khristov underlined Bulgaria's special interest in Austria's experience in banking, the development of small and medium-sized enterprises, the participation of the state bodies in foreign trade and in the possibility of training Bulgarian specialists in economy at Austrian firms, banks and other establishments.

The Government of Austria is greatly interested in promoting her relations with Bulgaria, Mr Robert Graf said. The Austrian firms are interested in the possibility of setting up joint enterprises, opening representative offices in Bulgaria, effecting deliveries paid for in kind and joint-stock participation in Bulgarian companies. There is a desire to make investments especially on the part of small and medium-sized Austrian firms, which is in line with the interests of the Bulgarian side. They will be financed by Austrian banks as Creditanstalt, Laenderbank, etc. The question of opening branches of these banks in Bulgaria was also discussed.

Metallurgy, the cellulose and paper-making industry, the chemical and the food industry and agricultural machine-building appear to be the main fields of activation of Bulgaro-Austrian cooperation in the near future. It is expected that an agreement for the protection of investments will be signed as early as this year.

Netherlands Justice Minister Pays Visit

Received by Stoichkov

AU0404183889 Sofia BTA in English 1753 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Sofia, April 4 (BTA)—Mr. Grigor Stoichkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Mr. Frederik Korthals Altes, minister of justice of the Netherlands. The guest was informed in detail of the restructuring underway in all spheres in Bulgaria. The economic changes were also discussed, the establishing of companies more concretely, which provides favourable conditions for international trade contacts. It was stressed that the improvement of the legal system in Bulgaria will assist the deepening of the relations with other countries, the Netherlands included.

Topical problems of the international situation were also discussed. Satisfaction was expressed over the improvement of the East-West relations.

Talks With Daskalova

AU0504184889 Sofia BTA in English 1624 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Text] Sofia, April 5 (BTA)—Mr Frederik Korthals Altes, minister of justice for the Netherlands, paid a four day visit to this country at the invitation of Ms Svetla Daskalova, minister of justice of Bulgaria. They held talks and exchanged information in relation with the organization of the two countries' legal systems and the functions of the Ministries of Justice. The two ministers spoke of the new objectives, which the legal authorities are solving in their struggle with crime, in strengthening of legality and in the legal education of the population. The trends were outlined for further cooperation in this sphere.

The guest from the Netherlands had meetings with the leaderships of the Prosecutor General's Office and the Supreme Court. He showed interest in certain issues of

the criminal law and the solution of the civil-legal disputes and became acquainted with some of the general conditions of the new family code. The mutual acquaintance with the two countries' experience in this sphere was assessed to be extremely useful.

Bulgarian Delegate Comments on EEC Talks

AU0504092189 Sofia BTA in English
0736 GMT 5 Apr 89

["Bulgaria-EEC"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 5 (BTA)—The establishing of official relations between the CMEA [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance] and the EEC is an important political act strengthening the idea about a common European house, about the establishing of favourable conditions for the enhancement of the trade-economic relations between the participants in the integration processes.

This assessment is on the occasion of the talks between Bulgaria and the Common Market which start in Brussels with the aim of signing an agreement for cooperation. Associate Professor Ivan Belchev, chief economist at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and member of the Bulgarian delegation, explains in today's TRUD newspaper what kind of agreement could be expected.

The conclusion of the agreement should create a legal base of the mutual relations, stresses the expert. Such a document should not be understood as a legalization of the present situation which is abnormal for the international trade practice. According to the Bulgarian side normal relations can be built on the principles and norms adopted by GATT (General Agreement on Taxes and Tariffs) on the bases of mutual granting of the clause for most favoured nation, on the elimination of quantitative and other limitations. Bulgaria is for a wide agreement including the questions of trade character, as well as the prospects before the future economic cooperation. That means to include in the future cooperation new forms of interaction in spheres like industry, agriculture and food industry, environment preservation, tourism, transport, etc.

Political Consultations With Denmark Held

AU0404184289 Sofia BTA in English
1809 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Copenhagen, April 4 (BTA)—The regular political consultations between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria and Denmark were held here.

Chief attention was paid to the review of the Bulgaro-Danish relations as a part of the East-West dialogue. In the light of the new political thinking the sides discussed (?spheres) of mutual interest for further development of the bilateral cooperation in the political, economic and cultural sphere. Special attention was paid to the roads for raising of the level and broadening of the forms of political dialogue, the activation of the parliamentary contacts, the relations between public organizations and others included.

Official visit in Bulgaria of Mr. Poul Schluter, prime minister of Denmark, is forthcoming.

Discussing the Bulgaro-Danish economic relations the sides noted the opportunities opening as a result of the restructuring in Bulgaria, stressing the increased interest of the business circles in Denmark in the new moments of the reorganization of the economic activity in Bulgaria.

Analyzing the international situation the two sides ascertained closeness in the positions of the two countries on the positive tendencies in the sphere of disarmament, the East-West dialogue and regional conflicts. High assessment was given to the conclusive document of the Vienna meeting.

Cooperation Protocol With France Signed

AU0504144689 Sofia BTA in English
1339 GMT 5 Apr 89

["Bulgaria, France Expand Business Contacts"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 5 (BTA)—Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations of Bulgaria, and Mr Jean-Marie Rausch, minister of foreign trade of France, co-chairmen of the Bulgaro-French Committee for Economic, Industrial, and Trade Cooperation, signed a protocol on the 16th session which the committee ended here. The document envisages an expansion of bilateral trade exchanges and an improvement of their composition.

The participants in the session noted with satisfaction the considerable intensification of contacts between companies in the two countries over the last few years, the conclusion of contracts on industrial cooperation, on the updating and construction of Bulgarian enterprises, on the formation of new joint ventures, on the participation of French companies at the Plovdiv fair etc.

Mr Lukanov described as anachronism the restrictions imposed on Bulgarian exports in the European Community countries, France included. He stressed the need to overcome these difficulties so as to provide normal conditions for the expansion and promotion of foreign economic contacts. In reply Mr Rausch expressed his country's readiness for the gradual removal, in a constructive spirit, of the quantitative limits on Bulgarian exports.

The 16th session's protocol lays emphasis on the new forms of economic cooperation: encouragement of direct contacts between economic units in the two countries, joint investment, technological activity and marketing in the chemical and the biotechnological industry, telecommunications, electronics and information technology. Some more advanced forms of cooperation have been

outlined, too: joint investment, technology transfer, joint management of enterprises and cooperation in third countries. It is emphasized that the two-way trade should be carried out according to new rules of trade policy and to a new legal framework for competition.

Mr Lukanov and Mr Rausch signed an intergovernmental investment promotion and protection agreement, which was initialed during the visit of President Francois Mitterrand to Bulgaria.

Filipov, Delegation End Talks in Mexico

AU0804150189 Sofia BTA in English
1351 GMT 8 Apr 89

["Bulgaria, Mexico Intensify Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Mexico City, April 8 (BTA correspondent)—A Bulgarian parliamentary delegation, led by Mr Grisha Filipov, member of the State Council and chairman of the National Assembly Committee on Socioeconomic Development, who are visiting here at the invitation of the Mexican Senate, completed their talks with Mexican M.P.'s.

The sides signed a final document which notes the excellent opportunities which such meetings open up for a face-to-face dialogue between representatives of the two peoples, for finding new common ground and for strengthening bilateral ties and the shared desire for cooperation on the basis of understanding, mutual benefit and respect.

The document says that Bulgaria and Mexico hold identical views on a number of international issues and are ready to persevere in their efforts towards disarmament, towards world security, towards the elimination of chemical weapons, towards outer space demilitarization, towards international detente, towards non-interference in internal affairs, towards the peoples' self-determination and towards dialogue as a standard method of conflict settlement.

The document stresses the agreement reached on the need of a new early session of the mixed intergovernmental commission for economic and trade cooperation so as to update the existing agreements and to consider new forms of cooperation with a view to encouraging joint investment and to grant reciprocal tax concessions, to activate the exchange of technologies and to boost trade in raw materials and goods and the joint entry in third countries' markets. The two countries are particularly interested in cooperating in the chemical industry, mechanical engineering, materials handling equipment, electronics and robotics, biotechnologies, the agro-industry, mining and the glass industry.

The M.P.'s also considered the opportunities for an improvement of contacts and of the specific cooperation programmes and for the establishment of interaction on a regular basis between the standing committees of the two parliaments.

It was decided to give an impetus to scientific and technological cooperation, to personnel training and to the realization of joint projects by encouraging the direct exchanges between institutes of higher learning, research institutes and industrial enterprises which have technologies of their own.

The document was presented to Mr Carlos Salinas de Gortari, president of Mexico, who received the Bulgarian parliamentary delegation and the Mexican senators after the completion of their talks. At the meeting, the head of the Bulgarian delegation, Mr Grisha Filipov, conveyed to the Mexican head of state most cordial greetings from Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of Bulgaria, and renewed the latter's invitation to a visit to Bulgaria by Mr Carlos Salinas de Gortari. The president of Mexico gratefully accepted the greetings and the invitation and said he would be glad to respond.

Mr Carlos Salinas de Gortari commended highly the success of the bilateral parliamentary meeting. He emphasized that its results are consistent with the new processes of renewal in the world, with the progressive and comprehensive changes under way in Mexico and in Bulgaria and with the two countries' common efforts to assert the ideals of peace, understanding and progress.

Zhivkov Meets With Patriarch Maksim 4 April

AU0404175289 Sofia BTA in English
1702 GMT 4 Apr 89

[Text] Sofia, April 4 (BTA)—State Council President Mr. Todor Zhivkov had a meeting today with Bulgarian Patriarch Maksim.

The State Council president assessed highly the positive position of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, of the clergy and the believers who take active part in the work for the further development of the fatherland and for the raising of the people's wellbeing. With this position and with its activity in defence of peace the Bulgarian Orthodox Church contributes to the benefit of the people, cooperates to the strengthening of the moral-patriotic unity of the Bulgarian nation. Mr. Todor Zhivkov expressed gratitude for this patriotic position and activity of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and its Patriarch Maksim.

Patriarch Maksim expressed satisfaction over the positive assessment of the activity of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. He assured the State Council president that fulfilling its religious mission, in full compliance with the basic principles of Christianity, the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, noting the great successes of the fatherland, will continue to give its contribution for active participation

of the believers in the innovative processes underway, for the further strengthening of peace and raising of Bulgaria's prestige, for her further all-round progress.

Allegations of Drug-Trafficking Rejected

AU0404181289 Sofia BTA in English 1745 GMT 4 Apr 89

["Provocative Untrue Allegations"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 4 (BTA)—Publications containing provocative and absolutely untrue allegations that Bulgarian enterprises and citizens are involved in the illegal traffic of narcotics and psychotropic substances have appeared of late in the mass media of some Western countries. In this connection the BTA has been authorized to state as follows:

Our country, together with all other countries, is most sincerely concerned over the proportions of this social evil. The Bulgarian competent authorities are conducting an uncompromising struggle with narcotic traffickers who try to make use of the transit routes passing through this country in order to transport narcotics from South Asia and the Middle East to the Western countries.

Drug addiction is not a social problem in this country. The problems of Bulgaria in the field of narcotics arise from the illegal international traffic. The trends of growing drug dependence in the developed countries have brought about an increase of the stream of narcotics running from the regions they are produced in to the West.

As a result from the vigilance and the activity of the Bulgarian border guard and customs authorities considerable quantities of narcotics amounting to millions of dollars' worth have been detected, seized and destroyed. Bulgaria has repeatedly called for international interaction in order to cut short the illegal traffic of narcotics, which has a harmful impact on international coexistence. Intergovernmental agreements on customs cooperation have been signed with Austria, Turkey and Yugoslavia. A protocol on customs cooperation in the struggle against trafficking narcotics has been signed with the FRG.

The fact that there is no case of a Bulgarian citizen to have taken part in illegal traffic of narcotics and psychotropic substances is especially worth noting.

Bulgaria's clear and categorical policy on this problem is completely in line with the policy of peaceful interdependent coexistence, good-willed and constructive interaction between states, the spirit of the East-West dialogue and the standards of contemporary civilization.

The contribution made by Bulgaria is well known. It is recognized by the United Nations and Bulgaria's international partners. At this background the anti-Bulgarian allegations mentioned above are absolutely unfounded and untrue. Obviously they are motivated by other purposes, they are an attempt to seek revenge for the failures of the slanderous campaigns launched against Bulgaria a few years ago. In their essence they amount to a relapse to "cold war".

As far as the real problems related to the illegal drug abuse and narcotic trafficking are concerned, Bulgaria will continue to exert every possible effort for increasing the efficiency of coordinated activity of the international community aimed at their being solved.

Rumors on Nuclear Station Risks Dismissed

AU0404134889 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No 14, 3 Apr pp 1, 2

[Article by Mariya Atanasova: "An Additional Thousand Megawatts"]

[Excerpts] The official opening of the No 5 generating unit at the Kozloduy nuclear electric power station was a quiet, businesslike affair. Perhaps this was right. [passage omitted]

Two major accidents (at the "Three Mile Island" nuclear power plant in the United States in 1985, and at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant in the USSR in 1986) cast a shadow over the nuclear energy industry and shook people's confidence in its security. [passage omitted]

Stanka Nozharova is the only Bulgarian woman nuclear energy expert. It is well known that women have to accumulate a cast-iron fund of working assets to obtain recognition from the men, who usually have the last word in decisions. When I shook hands with her, I silently hoped that my questions would not seem too elementary to her.... [passage omitted]

I learned from Engineer Stanka Nozharova that the generating unit is one of the second generation of reactors developed on the basis of new principles and technical solutions. In essence, it represents qualitatively new economic growth, which is achieved only with difficulty.

Bulgaria is the second socialist country after the Soviet Union to possess a 1,000-megawatt reactor. In this instance, did our specialists not show excessive boldness, or even recklessness? According to them, they had no other choice. After the earthquake at Vrancha in 1977 (a test that our reactors withstood superbly), the construction standards for nuclear power stations were reviewed, and strict requirements introduced. The Soviet power engineers put great efforts into perfecting the 1,000-megawatt reactor, and it meets modern requirements.

We were scared by the Chernobyl tragedy. We are all interested in the safety guarantees at our nuclear power station. These are not absolute, but they are very substantial. Technical solutions have been developed to provide triple safety measures for the systems and for automatic shutdown of the reactor in the event of an

earthquake. The reactor is designed to withstand an air wave of a certain magnitude, in order to prevent radioactive pollution of the atmosphere, both in the event of a design failure and in all other cases. [passage omitted]

In this context, the rumors that workers at the Kozloduy nuclear power plant and the town's inhabitants are suffering from specific damage to their health deserve our attention. Stanka Nozharova, it may be said, is a walking history of the Bulgarian nuclear energy industry. She knows many people who have lived there since the beginning of the seventies, and they are all well, thank God. True, the odd person may have fallen sick with something, but this has nothing to do with the power station.

Bulgaria now has her 1,000-megawatt reactor, and it is operating normally. I am excited and proud, Stanka Nozharova told me. Understandably, when reports are made at international meetings on how much energy we obtain from the nuclear power station (which already supplies about 40 percent of our electric power), it is pleasant for one to share the experience of our excellent specialists and to report that so far we have had no problems with the radiation situation. [passage omitted]

Decree on Changes to Farmland Protection Law

AU0504120489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Apr 89 p 2

[Text] The following is published in Issue No 26 of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK:

State Council Decree No 485 of 29 March 1989 on amendments and additions to the Law on Protecting Arable Land and Pastures. Citizens and labor collectives wishing to build dwellings on an economic basis encounter considerable difficulties in practice because of the established complex, centralized system for zoning arable land and pastures within the limits of populated areas and industrial zones.

The rights of the oblast people's councils require extension. The latter implement state policy on the territory of the oblast, and are in a position to more closely and accurately assess how nonirrigated arable land and pastures of categories four and five and unclassified land may be used in the most economic and appropriate manner. The expansion of centers of population and creation of industrial zones should be directed toward unproductive and poorly productive land. This again raises the requirement that the zoning of arable land and pastures of categories one, two, and three within the limits of populated areas, and the inclusion of arable land and pastures in industrial zones should be subject to strict control, in accordance with a procedure established by the Council of Ministers.

In view of these considerations, amendments and additions have been made to Article 5 of the Law on Protecting Arable Land and Pastures. The zoning of arable land and pastures of categories one, two, and three and of irrigated land within the limits of populated areas—defined by the general town-planning, urbanization, and regulatory plans for housing, cultural, and communal construction—the inclusion of arable land and pastures of all categories in industrial zones, and the defining of lands and pastures of the aforementioned categories that lie outside the limits of populated areas are to be carried out under strict control, according to a procedure established by the Council of Ministers.

Decrees on Ecology, Housing, Zloty Rate

AU0404081089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 31 Mar 89 p 2

[Text] The following important documents are published in Issue No 25 of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK:

—Extract from Council of Ministers Decree No 7 of 21 March 1989 on certain immediate measures to improve the ecological situation in the region around the Kremikovtsi metallurgical combine. The decree annuls Article 4, Paragraph 1 of Council of Ministers Decree No 23 of 1987 on additional energy- and fuel-saving measures, which stated that the fuel base of the power station at the Kremikovtsi metallurgical combine is determined as lignite, with the addition of coke-oven and blast-furnace gas. This order is now canceled in order to improve the ecological situation in the Kremikovtsi region.

—Extract from Council of Ministers Decree No 8 of 24 March 1989 concerning approval of a draft decree amending Decree No 65 of the Council of Ministers and the Fatherland Front National Council of 1986. Paragraph 6, Subsection 1 of Decree No 65 of the Council of Ministers and the Fatherland Front National Council of 1986 on creating conditions for the broad participation of the population in house-building is amended by a single paragraph of the concluding instructions. The populated areas in which real estate and property rights may only be acquired and implemented by people living there and by citizens of the capital and towns of the first and second functional types are determined by the relevant oblast people's council.

—The Bulgarian National Bank announces that starting 28 March 1989, the exchange rate for noncommercial payments in the Polish zloty against the lev is changed from 100 zloty for 0.65 leva to 100 zloty for 0.5 leva.

Article Responds to Readers on Socialist Pluralism

AU0404201589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Apr 89 p 4

[Article by Professor Dr Velichko Dobriyanov: "Socialist Pluralism"]

[Excerpts] Dozens of readers' letters to our editorial board raise questions which reveal a permanent interest in the subject of pluralism and socialist society. In RABOTNICHESKO DELO, Issue No 242 of 29 August 1988, we published an article by Professor Velichko

Dobriyanov, entitled "Socialist Pluralism." Because of the great interest in the questions dealt with in this article, we approached the author, asking him to answer and comment on the readers' opinions expressed by Prof Veselina Buchvarova from Sofia and Khristo Velev from the town of Gotse Delchev, and by doing so we will also answer the questions of other readers.

The phenomenon of real pluralism in socialist society is still subject to research through scientific methods; it still requires ideological and political assessment. I would like to touch upon only two basic questions:

Is pluralism nothing but discussed anticommunism?

This is what Professor Buchvarov writes in his letter: "No one can convince me and no one who is a Communist and Marxist-Leninist can be convinced that socialist pluralism is not disguised anticommunism, that it is not a bourgeois concept. It is by no means surprising that Marxism-Leninism is the main target attacked by socialist pluralism."

The answer to this question cannot be categorical and cannot be given a straight "yes" or "no" answer! First of all, we can say: Yes, pluralism is a disguise for anticommunism, which is very conveniently donned, thanks to our own eager assistance. This is because as long as we lightheartedly accuse all Western authors and public figures—who are developing and applying the concept of pluralism—of being anticommunists and ideological diversionists, we are supplying an excellent ideological weapon to the real anticommunists, efficiently directed against Marxism and socialism. Over several decades we have been rearming our ideological enemies with ideological weapons. [passage omitted]

Professor Buchvarov is right in stating that pluralism is a bourgeois concept. Nevertheless, so many concepts of social sciences have developed on the soil of bourgeois society that if we reject them only for this reason, we may end up communicating only with gestures, since according to such "logic," we would be forbidden to use concepts such as socialism, capitalism, convergence, and numerous other words, just because of their "bourgeois origins."

All these concepts have different meanings within certain limits. We are not replacing and we are not mechanically transferring the bourgeois concept of pluralism, declaring it a socialist concept, but are developing a new concept based on the reality of the socialist world. It is very important to understand this: Different meanings are often concealed behind a given concept of social sciences, this meaning being determined by different sociocultural, historical, personal, and other factors. [passage omitted]

Is difference in thinking a danger for socialism?

This is another important question raised in our readers' letters. It is being presumed that difference in thinking is one of the essential, characteristic features of pluralism. What do we mean by difference in thinking?

The answer to this question has various aspects, which I will try to describe briefly:

The dogmatic-sectarian style of thinking admits only extreme contrasts: "yes" or "no" to socialism, for or against socialism. In other words, difference in thinking is considered only as antisocialist thinking and action. This implies that no difference in thinking should exist under socialism, that no variety and pluralism of opinions, concepts, proposals, and requirements whatsoever should be allowed. This is a concept fit for barrack socialism and not for a Marxist-Leninist, workers', and people's socialism. As long as different forms of property exist in our society, as long as different people and different groups have a different social status, as long as these people have different interests, values, and beliefs, as well as different degrees of knowledge about their environment, they will inevitably have different views on the everyday life issues and essential problems of their personal, communal, and social existence.

The self-education and education of the masses along the path of mutual persuasion and dissuasion, along the path of mutual control and self-control, is possible only under the conditions of a free and democratic expression of different opinions. It is only under such conditions that opinions and views accompanied by antisocial actions can be isolated and suppressed, because pluralism in a democratic society is not identical with permissiveness and irresponsibility. This is the most correct method of achieving real unity of thought and action, the method of finding the most correct solutions for the social problems.

Gorbachev Plan on Uranium Production Welcomed

LD0904103289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0730 GMT 9 Apr 89

[Tomas Chudlarsaky commentary]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] At the center of attention in the media is the new Soviet initiative with which Mikhail Gorbachev came forward during his visit to Great Britain: the unilateral undertaking to end this year the production of highly enriched uraniam for military purposes. No matter how much they try in the West to make light of the significance of this decision, it is certain that it represents another result of the new political thinking on disarmament questions. It goes against the grain, above all for representatives of NATO, who strive for the modernization of nuclear means. Considerable differences remain in Soviet-British attitudes, as emerged from the talks between Mikhail Gorbachev and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, but a characteristic of the growing trust in relations between East and West is that despite the opposite standpoints, the talks did not take place in an atmosphere of enmity. [passage omitted]

Jakes Arrives on Official Visit to Cambodia

LD0904102989 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 9 Apr 89

[Text] Cambodia: The Czechoslovak party and government delegation headed by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, today ended its stay in Laos and arrived by air for an official friendly visit to Phnom Penh. The delegation was welcomed at the airport in the Cambodian capital by Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and other high-level representatives of the party and government.

Adamec Visit to GDR 17-18 April Announced

LD0904175589 Prague CTK in English 1649 GMT 9 Apr 89

[Text] Prague April 9 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec will pay a friendly working visit to the GDR April 17-18 at the invitation of his counterpart Willi Stoph, it was announced here today.

Adamec Visits Enterprises in Prague

Views Economic Situation

AU0704094489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Apr 89 p 2

["Speech" by Ladislav Adamec, member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Presidium and CSSR premier, at a meeting with directors, chairmen of party organizations, and functionaries of self-administration in selected state enterprises, in Prague on 4 April]

[Text] Comrades, during today's working visit I inspected the building sites of the new Tatra plant in Zlicin and of the university hospital in Motol, and the CKD Locomotive and Compressors enterprise, and had a chat with the working people there. What did these meetings reveal, what did they yield? In the first place, I would like to express appreciation for the common endeavor of all the working people in collectives to fulfill this year's tasks honorably. We value people's efforts aimed at overcoming problems posed by obsolete production equipment, unsuitable production premises, their endeavor to begin to actively modernize and reconstruct the material-technical base. At the same time a frank approach toward everything that prevents better work from being done and that stands in the way of good work organization and just assessment of its results was affirmed. As in the other Prague enterprises, they are vexed by other things. They have to work with poor-quality raw and other materials. Late deliveries lead to the disruption of the work rhythm. As consumers, they frequently have to search for the necessary goods in shops and have difficulties finding them. They lack a number of services and are complaining about their poor quality and inadequate flexibility. Our products cannot compare with foreign-made, top-of-the-line products.

I can convince myself that in Prague, as elsewhere, we can rely on the word of an honest man, on a worker's word, and can reckon with people who are not satisfied with what has been achieved. They do not want to stand still, they want to advance. Not hiding their errors and excusing them, but rectifying them, is intrinsic to them. They are proud of their work but, at the same time, they know they can deliver more. I am taking good impressions away with me. I can again convince myself that the working people not only need and welcome restructuring, but also that the majority of them are able and willing to push it through.

The majority of people want to work and live better. Some people think they can work less for the same amount of money or more. Only a small portion of them are willing to admit that they are earning more than they deserve. The one-sidedness of many opinions has real roots. It reflects cases of the violation of the socialist principles of remuneration, injustice, and egalitarianism.

What is the situation in the whole of our society, what is our economy truly capable of? We must openly say that we have been living above our means for quite some time now, that the living standard no longer corresponds to the efficiency of our economy. Such a situation cannot last long; sooner or later hard facts will force us to put things in order. However, in no case do we want to solve the situation to the detriment of honest, efficient people who have good work morals. On the contrary, it is necessary precisely in their interest to clarify this issue and put remuneration in harmony with the real state of our economy.

Why am I speaking about these issues? Above all to answer the question of why the restructuring of the economic mechanism, the economic reform, is necessary. To put it concisely—only in this way will we be able

to prevent the deterioration of the people's living conditions, strengthen social security, and provide prospects. Should we continue producing too expensive, poor-quality products that are difficult to sell, and taking further credits abroad, we will seriously imperil the achieved level of wages and the general incomes of the population. Therefore, we have embarked on a course of strengthening economic equilibrium, reducing unprofitable investments and administrative costs, and strictly regulating wages. We do not want, at any price, to permit a fortuitous growth of prices and send the spiral of inflation spinning. In this respect we will not be able to avoid some unpopular measures, on which the government will consult with the broad public.

Comrades, the program of social restructuring determined at the seventh and elaborated at the subsequent sessions of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, constitutes one of the most demanding revolutionary tasks the party has ever given itself. The elimination of shortcomings, mistakes, and past errors is part of it. However, the focus is on the preparedness of the CPCZ, the political system, and the whole of our society for the new conditions of scientific-technical and social progress, in our country as well as on the international scale. We must never forget this.

Many decision have been adopted and many new ideas have been voiced in the course of realizing restructuring. People are rightly asking themselves what all this will bring to every individual, to every working person, and to our country and socialism. Merely proclaming the new course is not enough. The decisive thing will be the practical deeds carried out during its implementation, and, as it has rightly been said—in discussions this morning as well—there have not been enough of them thus far. Why? There are certainly many reasons for this, but the main one is the insufficiently active work of many management components.

A number of ranking personnel are waiting and relying, as has been the case to date, for the CPCZ Central Committee and government to supply them with detailed instructions about how they are to carry out restructuring in their organizations. Some of them are even using the lack of directives, deadlines, and methodological instructions as an excuse. This is the sad truth, but it is not only their fault. They remain in the rut of bureaucratic management, they have no courage to display their own initiative; by doing nothing they are trying to avoid making mistakes and are trying to blame the poor results of the collectives entrusted to them on the central authorities.

Should we continue these practices, restructuring would be discredited at its very beginning. Instead of strengthening socialism and enhancing its appeal, exactly the opposite will occur. In no case can we afford to allow this to happen; therefore, such bureaucratic attitudes toward restructuring must be sharply condemned. However, to do this mere criticism from above is not enough; the decisive thing is pressure from below, from the party, trade unions, and work collectives. Without that restructuring will not assert itself, because the main struggle to change social mechanisms, management methods, and the way of thinking takes place within and among people. The higher management components can significantly contribute to this by creating the necessary political, economic, ideological, organizational, and cadre prerequisites. However, they cannot do this on their own, without people, or even behind their backs.

The success of restructuring depends in many respects on the ability of all management components—political, economic, and social components—to improve the standard of their work, on their changing from administrative methods to economic methods, from directives and orders to convincing people and winning them over, from general instructions to concrete organizational work. The management system has hitherto not only been insufficiently rational and unnecessarily complicated, but—at the same time—also fairly comfortable. It required neither much competence nor much responsibility and risk taking. We must put an end to that because it has been seriously paralyzing that which is essential in socialism, and that which is its greatest advantage: creative, independent activity.

Comrades, we meet more than once with a lack of understanding as to why the party so closely links the line of economic restructuring with democratization, which includes a pluralism of views, a method of political dialogue, a broad flow of information, and a high degree of independence for the individual components of the political system. The answer is simple. The strength, the viability, and the irreversibility of restructuring lie precisely in the fact that it proceeds from repeated, mass recommendations from below, from enterprises and work sites, that it is in people's interest, and that only they can introduce it into life. It cannot be introduced from a desk; it cannot be carried out in accordance with someone's wishes and on a certain date. It also cannot have some sort of ideal, pure, and exemplary form, without one-sidedness and even without extremes. Many aspects must be left to mature; not everything can succeed in accordance with the original plans. It even will be necessary to go back several times to certain things. That, however, does not depreciate our effort, but warns us against simplified standpoints.

It has been said several times that restructuring is neither a gift from above nor a haphazard matter. So far people have mostly been discussing what it will bring to them. This must not be underestimated; without benefits they will not carry it out. However, we also must not forget the other aspect of the matter: what it will demand of them, in what respect and on what it will increase demands.

These issues are being discussed in workers collectives very openly. We welcome that, because the effort to learn the truth is correct. The views of workers, who expect

from restructuring greater respect for workers professions and a better appreciation of tradesmen's skills and inventiveness, are justified. They correctly see in it also the guarantee of a more just remuneration, higher earnings, and a better appreciation of the loyalty to their profession and their enterprise. One also has to agree with those people who see in restructuring the opportunity to participate to a greater degree in the management of an enterprise through the CPCZ, the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, the Socialist Youth Union, and self-management bodies; to have—through secret ballots—greater influence on the selection of cadres, and scope to openly express themselves on issues of local and international politics. Such expectations correspond to the objectives of the policy of the party, the National Front, and the socialist state, and deserve full support.

But restructuring will also demand of the workers and work collectives much that is new and still unusual. Above all, a substantial increase of work discipline—without which one cannot speak about well-organized production, without which neither the quality of products nor labor productivity will improve. Demands for increasing qualifications and for willingness to go to work elsewhere and, if necessity, even to accept a different job, must be regarded far more seriously. The purpose of all this is not that people should, perhaps, earn less, but—on the contrary—that they earn more. But this must be deserved, supported by genuine results.

Comrades, until now we have been implementing the restructuring of the Czechoslovak economy mainly in the sphere of the management system by fundamentally changing the existing economic mechanism. I do not want to talk about these things in detail, because the party and state bodies have already expressed their fundamental stand on them several times. I would like to draw your attention to another, further aspect—to the need to carry out fundamental structural changes in parallel. The two things are closely connected, and one is contingent upon the other. What use would it be for us to have the most modern organization and management if our enterprises were manufacturing obsolete products on written-off machinery and selling them at a low price or, even, could not sell them?

Therefore, we are clarifying the program of structural changes as an integral part of the preparations for the Ninth 5-Year Plan. The complexity and impact of this is similar to the one of restructuring the economic mechanism, and in a number of aspects even greater. Why? The need to adapt the structure of the economy to changing conditions and needs at home and in the world has been discussed for several decades now. In Prague, too, it was decided to gradually resolve the issue of inefficient operations and relocate some organizations outside the capital. In reality these plans remain on paper only, and opposite processes have often taken place. This, too, cannot go on.

I would like to graphically demonstrate the problem of structural changes by using the example of engineering, which has a strong base in Prague. This will not be an easy task; we cannot do everything at once. We regard the low efficiency of its present structure to be the fundamental issue. As a result, the per-kilogram prices of engineering products have been decreasing and the proportion of unsaleable products has been increasing. The average age of machinery is one-third higher and its use at home almost two-thirds longer than in the industrially developed countries. Despite that, we must begin untying the whole knot, beginning with engineering. Compared with other countries, in the past 10-15 years considerable resources have been invested in engineering, but they have not yielded the desired effect. Instead of reconstructing, we were building new capacities. Therefore a small number of shifts continued to work, so there were many unmanned machines. New halls were built instead of purchasing new, higher-performance machinery. The contribution of branches to scientific development and to the modernization of the other branches of the national economy must be assessed even more critically.

The ongoing restructuring of the economic mechanism should also contribute to all of this. Its purpose is not only to exert pressure to economize more or to save raw materials, energy, and manpower. Its purpose, at the same time, is to create favorable economic conditions for carrying out the necessary structural changes. We cannot produce everything, or almost everything, but only the things that will be successful and that will enable us to buy machinery we ourselves do not produce. In Prague there are also products in which the world has an interest and for which we get good money. At the same time, we are frequently unable to accept a profitable order because of the shortage of capacities. However, the same enterprise or plant produces equipment which is difficult to sell or cannot be sold at all. What prevents us from no longer manufacturing products which bring us losses and from expanding the manufacture of products that are in demand?

Can this state of affairs be changed? I am convinced that this is possible, that we can do it. In essence nothing but our own indolence, the habit of relying on the power of mere resolutions and appeals, the speculation that someone else will solve things, prevents us from doing it today.

What I have just said about conditions for developing engineering applies to the whole of our economy. I have spoken about these things to point out the resources on which we can rely when seeking solutions. We also should consult together here today.

Meets With Workers

AU0704104889 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 5 Apr 89 pp 1, 2

[Zbynek Fiala report: "One Can Only Take a Measurement by Applying World Measuring Rods"]

[Excerpts] "What does restructuring mean here, where you work? What do you know about it?" the Czechoslovak premier was asking workers on his numerous stops in the

workshops of several plants of the "CKD—Prague Combine" state enterprise yesterday. "It does not mean much yet," was the no-less-frequent reply. [passage omitted]

Ladislav Adamec, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Presidium and CSSR premier, devoted his activities yesterday to a working visit of the capital. [passage omitted] Journalists were given an opportunity to accompany him.

On the very first stop, the building site of the new CKD Tatra plant in Zlicin, at the edge of Prague's fifth municipal district, we recorded a highly critical dialogue on the course and results of the plant's construction. Its concept was born long ago when, within the CEMA framework, we were assigned the task of producing streetcars for its huge market. However, construction was slow in getting started and only as it was in progress did one start to reckon with the plant's automated operation. The megalomania of the day is responsible for the fact that similar plants in the world are one-third its size. The worry has now arisen whether sales will really be at the projected level. [passage omitted]

"This investment project is an example of how it should not be done," Ladislav Adamec commented on the situation in a very resolute tone. "I have studied the history of this case. The worst thing about it is that you will not find anyone responsible who is to blame for this state of affairs. The project is bad, the interventions in it have been bad, preparedness has been poor, the implementation delayed...." The CKD management is dealing with the inherited problems. [passage omitted] It is thinking not only about alternative production programs with which to make use of the modern facilities, including in cooperation with foreign partners, but also about how to hire and keep people, chiefly by giving them apartments. [passage omitted]

In the afternoon Ladislav Adamec met with the directors, workers, and functionaries of self-management bodies of selected Prague state enterprises. The text of his speech is published elsewhere in this issue. It was followed by an interesting debate.

Here are some ideas from the premier's replies:

—Prague industry is bloated, but bloated with obsolete technology. Over the last 20 years, Prague enterprises have received the least funds for modernization of all regions. This is paradoxical in a city in which large research institutes and scientific workplaces are concentrated. An improvement is necessary but the available funds set a limit on it.

—One can evaluate a product only once it is exchanged for money. It is not enough for it to be produced. It used to be enough to fulfill the plan; the producer did not have to take any interest in whether his output was sold or not. Restructuring is changing that. It is quite possible that not everyone will applaud the consequences, but we have nowhere to retreat. The restructuring of wholesale prices is important; it should expose unwarranted costs, which enterprises liked to include in prices.

—Structural changes in our economy are inevitable. The ongoing analysis shows that, compared with labor productivity levels worldwide, we employ in our economy 1.5 million people more for the same level of output, excluding administrative staff! We must not close our eyes to this fact; it will be necessary to find effective employment for these people.

—Negotiations in the Soviet Union have confirmed fundamental resources for the next 5-year plan and the subsequent 10-15 years as regards Soviet deliveries of crude oil and natural gas. However, it is necessary to face the fact that competition on the Soviet market is growing. Our exports of engineering products must proceed from the premise that the Soviet market demands a quality that is comparable with the products of advanced capitalist countries. In a few years' time, lower quality will scarcely find a buyer.

In the late afternoon, another important meeting took place—with the national committee chairmen of Prague municipal districts. The premier's busy working day provided an opportunity for a stimulating exchange of information from top to bottom and vice versa. This is, incidentally, the purpose of such meetings, which are slowly becoming the rule.

Periodical on 1969 Party Committee Sessions

LD0704132189 Prague CTK in English 0925 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Prague April 7 (CTK)—The sessions of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee on April 17 and May 29-30 1969 meant resolute promotion of consolidation of conditions in all spheres of Czechoslovak society by the Marxist-Leninist nucleus of the party with the aim to overcome the growing aggresiveness of the right-wing forces in the party, the periodical ZIVOT STRANY said in its latest issue on the forthcoming anniversary of these events.

The fortnightly of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee stressed that the new party leadership with Gustav Husak, who took up the post of Alexander Dubcek, faced the task to lead society out of the crisis by political means. It was necessary to strengthen Czechoslovakia's international positions and above all to restore decaying relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist states.

The periodical further said that the right-wing forces within the party strove to use young people especially for their anti-socialist aims. The right-wing incited students' strikes and demonstrations, organized acts of pressure. "The whipped up national emotions resulted in the death of student Jan Palach, in physical terror and acts of vandalism," ZIVOT STRANY said.

The conclusions of the April and May sessions of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee marked transition of Czechoslovakia's home and foreign orientation to the implementation of the principles of the Marxist-Leninist policy in practice. Realizable ways out of the development of crisis were set forth as well as guidelines for further life of the socialist society, the periodical said.

Paper Says Nuclear Power Plant Site Safe

LD1004092689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0600 GMT 10 Apr 89

[Text] Today's RUDE PRAVO carries part of a transcript of an informal meeting between members of RUDE PRAVO's editorial staff and readers in Sobeslav on topical issues of domestic and foreign policy.

In response to the question of whether it is true that the Temelin nuclear power plant is being constructed on a geological fault, it is stated that this claim was initiated in our country by the West. It has been made, in particular, by Austrian media referring to a source at an establishment belonging to the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. It is true that one of the academy's establishments surveyed and selected sites for the construction of nuclear power stations. These studies are not confidential, and therefore they have also been disseminated abroad. The studies' concluding reports point out that even in the maximum intensities of any future earthquake which might extend as far as the Temelin region from epicenters in the eastern Alps, no damage could occur to standard buildings. This means that this is even less likely at nuclear power engineering buildings and facilties, which are constructed with regard for increased safety in respect to such influences, RUDE PRAVO emphasizes.

Further on Conviction of Dissident Hradilek

AU0704170289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Apr 89 p 2

["(ml)"-signed report followed by "(jk)"-signed report: "Verdicts Pronounced"]

[Text] Prerov (from our own correspondent)—On Wednesday [5 April], after court proceedings lasting 2 days, the tribunal of judges at the district court in Prerov pronounced its verdict against Tomas Hradilek from Lipnik nad Becvou.

The offense committed by the accused was that, as a Czechoslovak citizen, out of hostility toward the socialist social and state system of the Republic, on 17 and 28 January 1989 he wrote letters in Lipnik nad Becovou which were objectively capable of whipping up hostile or unfavorable attitudes toward the socialist social and state system as well as harming the interests of the Republic abroad. He sent these letters to various organs and institutions, and they were delivered to them. However, it was not proved that these letters were also received by the several press agencies to which they were addressed.

According to the verdict of the district court, Tomas Hradilek attempted to commit, in accordance with Paragraph 8, Section 1 of the Penal Code, the criminal acts of incitement in accordance with Paragraph 100, Section 1, subsection "a", and further under Section 3, subsection "a" of the Penal Code, the criminal act of damaging the interests of the Republic abroad according to Paragraph 112 of the Penal Code. For this he was sentenced to a cumulative punishment of 13 months imprisonment, conditionally suspended for a 2-year probation period.

The accused and the prosecutor appealed against the sentence. So far the sentence has not assumed the full force of law.

"signed" (ml)

Brno—On the same day, criminal proceedings against the accused Engineer Eva Vidlarova came to an end at the municipal court in Brno. She was accused of an attempt to commit the criminal act of frustrating the execution of an administrative decision because of the fact that, at the end of last year, she took part in the dissemination of printed material to persons who were to be questioned in the criminal matter of the accused Petr Cibulka. During the trial, an expert in the field of graphology was questioned and the testimonies of the remaining witnesses were read out. Because the evidence did not prove the unequivocal guilt of the accused, she was acquitted of the charge.

The verdict has not yet assumed the full force of law. The prosecutor has submitted an appeal against the verdict.

"signed" (jk)

Sentences in 15 Jan Unrest Trial Confirmed

AU0704131689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Apr 89 p 2

["(jc)"-signed report: "The Verdict on the Initiators of the Disturbances Is Confirmed; Proceedings Before the Municipal Court in Prague"]

[Text] Prague (from our own correspondent)—On 4 April, at a public session, the municipal court in Prague reviewed the criminal matter of the accused Jana Petrova, Otakar Veverka, David Nemec, Stanislav Penc, Petr Placak, Jana Sternova, and Alexandr Vondra, doctor of natural sciences.

As we reported, it was ascertained by the municipal district court for Prague 2 that the accused were notified of the decision of the Municipal District National Committee in Prague 1 to prohibit the holding of a public

gathering (designated as a commemorative act) in Wenceslas Square on 15 January. Despite this, on that day at about 1500 they demonstratively gathered around the statue of St Wenceslas and thus disrupted public order. By their conduct they caused the assembly of a larger number of people, which prevented normal traffic in the upper part of Wenceslas Square. Jana Petrova and Otakar Veverka verbally assaulted an intervening member of the Public Security Corps [VB] with crude and offensive utterances. While identities were being established, Petrova, Veverka, Nemec, and Sternova vociferously agitated the assembled crowd against the intervening members of the VB and refused to comply with their instructions. Their conduct caused the assembled crowd to verbally assault members of the VB with offensive remarks. An order maintaining unit of the VB later had to intervene to restore public order.

After a 2-day trial the municipal district court for Prague 2 on 22 February 1989 found Jana Petrova, Otakar Veverka, David Nemec, and Jana Sternova guilty of the criminal act of hooliganism according to Paragraph 202, Section 1 of the Penal Code and, moreover, it found J. Petrova and O. Veverka guilty of committing in tandem the criminal act of assault on a public official according to Paragraph 156, Section 2 of the Penal Code. The court qualified the conduct of Stanislav Penc, Petr Placak, and Alexandr Vondra as a minor offense against public order according to Paragraph 6, letter "a" of law No 150/1969.

The municipal district court sentenced Jana Petrova to a cumulative unconditional punishment of 9 months imprisonment to be carried out in the first corrective educational group, it sentenced Otakar Veverka to a cumulative unconditional punishment of 12 months imprisonment to be carried out in the second corrective educational group (the court took into account the fact that during the past 10 years prior to committing this criminal act he had been imprisoned for a premeditated criminal act), it sentenced David Nemec to 6 months imprisonment, conditionally suspended for a 3-year probation period, and fined him Kcs4,000, it sentenced Jana Sternova to 4 months imprisonment, conditionally suspended for a 1-year probation period, and Stanislav Penc, Petr Placak, and Alexandr Vondra, doctor of natural sciences, were sentenced to 2 months imprisonment, conditionally suspended for a 2-year probation period. At the same time, the court fined each of the last three named persons the sum of Kcs2,500. In the case that this sentence is ignored by the accused who were given fines, they were sentenced to 1 month's imprisonment.

The municipal district court heard the appeals of the accused and the district prosecutor and found them groundless. According to Paragraph 256 of the Criminal Code it rejected all the appeals and confirmed the verdict of the lower court which then acquired legal authority.

Works of 110 Authors Returned to Libraries

AU0704142689 Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech 4 Apr 89 p 4

["(elf)"-signed report: "Literary Returns; The Decisive Factor Is the Quality of the Work"]

[Excerpts] Michal Cernik, chairman of the Czech Writers Association and Josef Peterka, the association's leading secretary, has informed reporters about the recent plenary meeting of the members of the Czech Writers Association and about contemporary problems in literature in general.

Among other things, it was said that the issue at present is the qualitatively new formation of literary values. First and foremost, it is necessary to achieve a cohesive, objective view of literature over the past 40 years. [passage omitted]

For example, in the 1950's the stream flowing outside the main, officially celebrated literary stream was eliminated, and thus names such as Zahradnicek, Cep, and Knap were squeezed out onto the edge of literature.... Similarly, the 1960's distorted the picture of literature, and again other, overwhelmingly administrative interventions, had an influence on the preference for certain works and authors in the 1970's and, at the same time, neglected works of high literary quality.

Recently the decision was made to restore these neglected works to textbooks and to dictionaries, to the history of literature. It is impossible to revive ad infinitum the past attitudes of certain authors; the main thing is what they are saying today and what the quality of their work is. On the recommendation of the minister of culture, the works of approximately 110 authors and novelists are now being returned to public libraries. It is necessary to differentiate between author-emigres, which also concerns the so-called "internal emigration." The best works—a random example is Askenazy—ought to be published again. However, those who behave in an antisocialist manner cannot count on our tolerance. At the same time, the association considers it necessary to carry out an analysis of Czech literature published abroad. [passage omitted]

Official on 'Contemplated' Electoral Changes

AU0604134289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Apr 89 p 1

[Interview with Rudolf Rohlicek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat and deputy chairman of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, by RUDE PRAVO and CTK: "By-Elections to the Federal Assembly From Several Candidates;" date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Prague—At its 20 March session, the CSSR National Front Central Committee Presidium discussed preparations for by-elections to the Federal Assembly. In this connection, RUDE PRAVO and CTK asked Rudolf Rohlicek, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Secretariat and deputy chairman of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, for an interview.

[RUDE PRAVO] Comrade Deputy Chairman, why are the by-elections taking place?

[Rohlicek] This is no extraordinary event. As the press has reported already, nine deputies to the Federal Assembly asked to be relieved of their parliamentary functions as a result of their changing assignments. In accordance with the current electoral system, the Federal Assembly therefore called by-elections in seven constituencies in the Czech Socialist Republic and in two constituencies in the Slovak Socialist Republic. The by-elections will take place on 20 April.

In connection with the ongoing democratization of our society, we intend to use in these by-elections all possibilities provided by the existing election laws and, thereby, gain experiences for contemplated changes in our electoral system. It goes without saying that these by-elections must take place in accordance with valid laws and that we can therefore test only those elements that are in harmony with the existing legislation.

The session of the CSSR National Front Central Committee Presidium was preceded by a very broad-based selection of candidates, who were put forward in districts by member organizations of the National Front and by labor collectives. A total of 106 candidates were put forward at the district level, from whom the National Front District Committees selected 20. Their candidacy was discussed by the CSSR National Front Central Committee Presidium and on 21 March 1989 these candidates were registered with the district electoral commissions.

[RUDE PRAVO] Some new elements are to be tested in these elections. Which elements are these?

[Rohlicek] The most important new element—besides the broad-based selection of candidates, which I have mentioned already—is the fact that in every electoral district two to three candidates run for a seat in the Federal Assembly. I want to stress that all of them are candidates of the National Front, standing firmly on its positions. The voters can give their vote to the candidate who, according to their conviction, will best defend their interests. He who wins an absolute majority of the votes will be elected, provided, of course, that more than one-half of voters registered in the voters' list participate in the elections. [passage omitted]

If the voter casts a ballot slip to which he has not made any alterations, this counts, in accordance with the law, as a vote for the candidate who is listed first. [passage omitted]

It is important that every voter is given the chance to really make his own choice among the candidates. This requires the provision of firm guarantees for secret voting. In other words, it is necessary not only to provide curtains behind which all voters will have the chance to make alterations to the ballot slip in secret but also to guide voters so that they really exercise their right to vote. [passage omitted]

[RUDE PRAVO] You have mentioned that proposals for improving the system of general elections and for a possible revision of election laws are being worked on. What sort of changes are being considered is this context?

[Rohlicek] First of all, I would like to say that at present the new proposals are in the stage of preparations. A number of scientific institutions and social organizations are participating in drafting them and account is taken of information and experiences from abroad, particularly from socialist states. The preparation and course of the elections of people's deputies in the Soviet Union, in which a number of new elements that promote socialist democracy were applied, provided us with much inspiration. This inspiration, as well as the experience from the by-elections in our country, will be used in drafting the new election laws. The first proposals were considered at the January session of the CSSR National Front Central Committee Presidium, where its members provided the compilers with a number of ideas and suggestions.

Within the framework of the revision of election laws, the question is being considered, for example, of introducing multicandidate electoral districts, in which the number of candidates would exceed the number of seats. In this connection, it is also being pondered whether candidates for the seat of a deputy who did not get elected should not become substitutes, who, in the event of the deputy's seat becoming vacant, would automatically take his place. This will be possible if they achieve the absolute majority of all valid votes, which the new electoral system, in contrast to the existing one, will make possible [sentence as published]. This would obviate the need for by-elections. The possibilities are also being considered of extending the right to nominate candidates to other subjects, of lowering the age limit for eligibility to national committees to 18 years, and so forth.

The aim of the changes under preparation is, first and foremost, to deepen the democratic principles of general elections to national committees and legislative bodies. The draft amendments to election laws will be submitted to citizens for public discussion. They will then be finalized on the basis of their suggestions and comments and introduced in the Federal Assembly for discussion.

Soviet Delegation Ends Working Visit

AU0704134289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Apr 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] A delegation of the USSR State Committee for Material Reserves, led by its chairman Fedor Loshchenkov, ended its working visit to the CSSR on Saturday [1 April]. The leading representatives of the Czechoslovak and Soviet administrations for material reserves exchanged experiences and discussed the possibilities of developing further cooperation in state reserves and in distribution processes. At Ruzyne Airport Mikulas Beno, chairman of the Federal Material Reserves Administration, bade farewell to the guests.

Mittag Speaks With FRG Officials, Ends Visit

Meets FDP Chairman

LD0704191989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1344 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Socialist Unity Party Central Committee and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, and Free Democratic Party [FDP] Chairman Otto Graf Lambsdorff stressed the great value of the policy of dialogue for the continuation of the process of disarmament, detente, and securing peace. The politicians met on Friday in Bonn for a discussion, at the center of which were questions of international development and relations between the GDR and the FRG.

Proceeding from the special responsibility of both German states for peace, Guenter Mittag stressed once again the great importance of the agreements set out in the joint communique on the occasion of the official visit of Erich Honecker to the FRG in September 1987. He underlined the necessity of realizing what has been agreed upon consistently and methodically. Both German states can thereby make an active contribution in the future to the continuance of the change for the better in international relations which has begun, and to its lasting nature. This is also in the most basic interests of the people in the GDR and the FRG.

Guenter Mittag and Otto Graf Lambsdorff noted in this connection that advances have been achieved in many areas since Erich Honecker's official visit to the FRG. They spoke in support of preserving what has been achieved and expanding it continuously. Guenter Mittag pointed out that favorable preconditions existed for this while mutually respecting the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and nonintervention, and the interests of both sides.

Taking part in the talk were GDR Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil and Ambassador Horst Neubauer, director of the Permanent Mission of the GDR in the FRG. On the FDP side, Cornelia Schmalz-Jacobsen, general secretary of the party, and Klaus Beckmann, parliamentary whip of the FDP Bundestag parliamentary group, were present.

Meets FRG Economic Minister

LD0704193589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1401 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo, secretary of the Socialist Unity Party Central Committee, and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, this morning met FRG Federal Economic Minister Dr Helmut Haussmann for talks in Bonn at the latter's invitation.

Both parties agreed that trade and economic relations are an important stabilizing element in relations as a whole between the GDR and the FRG. It is therefore most important to secure their further development. Guenter Mittag stressed the GDR's unequivocal view that this must happen on the basis of respect for sovereignty, equality, and mutual advantage. Given the high level of trade already achieved, there are further openings and fresh possibilities for the future, which must be explored and utilized with prudence and careful regard for mutual interests. This has led to the well-known good trade agreements of the Leipzig Spring Fair in 1989, and will also become apparent, without a doubt, at this year's Hannover industrial fair.

Guenter Mittag declared that trade and economic relations should not be tested for their resilience. Rather, everything should be done to clear the way forward for cooperation to the mutual benefit of both sides. The GDR will therefore do all in its power to develop trade and economic relations, not only between large combines but also to a considerable extent between small and medium-sized enterprises.

Federal Minister Haussmann submitted the proposal that cooperation agreements with FRG enterprises be developed and submitted the draft of a framework agreement to this end.

Federal Minister Haussmann reinforced, for his part, the FRG's interest in the development of trade and economic relations with the GDR, which, in his opinion, have a solid foundation and a favorable outlook. This, he stressed, is also the view of influential economic circles in the FRG.

GDR Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil and Ambassador Horst Neubauer, head of the Permanent GDR Mission in the FRG, also took part in the discussion.

Discusses Cooperation With Kohl

LD0704150889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1341 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Bonn (ADN) - Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of State, was received by the FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl for a talk at the chancellor's office in Bonn on Friday. Guenter Mittag conveyed greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, to Helmut Kohl, who asked him to reciprocate them.

Referring to the joint communique on Erich Honecker's official visit to the FRG in September 1987, Guenter Mittag underlined the fundamental importance of that document and of its steadfast implementation. He recalled that it expressed important political aims for relations between the GDR and the FRG. This applied, in particular, to the responsibility of both states, emanating from their joint history, to undertake special efforts for peaceful coexistence in Europe. The aim was

for relations between the two states to remain a stabilizing factor for constructive East-West relations and for this relationship to result in positive incentives for peaceful cooperation and dialogue in Europe.

Guenter Mittag invoked, in particular, the statement in the joint communique that the GDR and FRG are in agreement that what has been achieved should be preserved and consolidated, while taking into account the principle of respecting the independence and sovereignty of each of the two states in their domestic and foreign affairs. If this occurred, there would be further progress in replacing confrontation with cooperation. Referring to the recent past in mutual relations, Guenter Mittag said the GDR is in favor of the cold days disappearing again.

He underlined the GDR's intention to steadfastly implement all the points contained in the joint communique. In particular, the aim is to steadily expand economic cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. What has been achieved offers good possibilities for this, and further promising beginnings which should be treated and developed with care.

Both parties agreed that on the whole, significant progress has been achieved in relations since September 1987. In this, the fulfillment of the agreements concluded in the areas of science and technology, environmental and radiation protection, implementing transit traffic, starting agreed upon negotiations on the extension and electrification of a stretch of transit railway, as well as the use and supply of electricity between the GDR and FRG with the inclusion of Berlin (West), increasing amount of travel, other issues were pointed to.

Federal Chancellor Kohl reasserted the FRG's interest in implementing what had been agreed upon. What has been achieved in the sense of a contribution by the two German states to securing peace and in people's interests should be continued in the future in a constructive manner. Differing positions on issues of basic principle should be no impediment to achieving tangible results in practical cooperation.

Taking part in the talks were the GDR Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil and Horst Venbauer, head of the GDR's permanent mission to the FRG.

This afternoon Guenter Mittag and his entourage arrived back in Berlin.

Government Grants FRG Inspection Request

LD0904103689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0958 GMT 9 Apr 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The FRG Government, on the basis of the guidelines of the Stockholm document on confidence-building measures and security and disarmament in Europe, applied for an inspection on GDR territory on 7 April 1989.

The inspection will begin on 9 April 1989 and be conducted in the region of Gardelegen, Wittenberge, Sternberg, Waren, Mirow, Stacklitz, and Seehausen. In this region at present, a troop exercise of the GDR National People's Army designated "Zyklus 89" is taking place. Up to 13,500 army members are taking part, in accordance with the annual review of military activities of the GDR for 1989. This exercise was announced to all participant states of the Stockholm conference.

The GDR Government has granted the request and entry of the FRG inspectors. All participant states of the Stockholm conference are being informed by diplomatic means.

Maritime Boundary Pact With Poland 'Imminent'

LD0704145389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1335 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A settlement is imminent on demarcating the maritime territories of the GDR and Poland in the Oder Bight which will guarantee free and open access to the ports of Szczecin and Swinoujscie from the open sea in the spirit of international law.

The GDR is ready to sign such an agreement. This will take place soon, in accordance with the wishes of Poland, a GDR Foreign Ministry spokesman said when asked.

Two Arrested 'Uninjured' at Border Crossing

LD0804122289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1125 GMT 8 Apr 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On 8 April 1989, after firing a warning shot, GDR border guards arrested uninjured two men trying to illegally cross the Berlin-Chausseestrasse border crossing-point. They were handed over to the relevant authorities for clarification of the incident. According to present investigations, the incident involves an operation that was organized and ordered out of West Berlin.

U.S. 'Delta Star' Satellite Program Criticized

AU0504192689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Apr 89 p 2

["-ng" article: "SDI Satellite in Space"]

[Text] The first unmanned research station from the U.S. SDI space armament program has been in orbit for a few days. There is a platform with instruments at the center of the $140 million, 3-tonne "Delta Star" satellite which was developed on Pentagon orders. Equipped with seven different sensors, it is designed to locate and monitor, in the course of a 6-month experiment, several rockets, which will be launched from Hawaii and Alaska.

The "Delta Star" satellite was launched into orbit from Cape Canaveral almost exactly 6 years after the then U.S. president frightened the world public with his "Star Wars" speech. The vision of an impenetrable protective

shield in space, which Reagan announced in March 1983 and which was to render "nuclear arms ineffective and superfluous," has long since proved unrealistic. Even the most ardent supporters have abandoned this vision. Nevertheless, they agree that SDI must continue at any rate and at any price.

At any price: Until now the Pentagon has spent some $16 billion on this project. According to its plans, more billions of dollars are to be directed into this bottomless barrel. For the 1990 budget—at a zero-growth of the U.S. armaments budget, adjusted by the inflation rate—they call for increasing SDI means by 44 percent from $4.1 to $5.9 billion. In accordance with this plan, the SDI budget for the first time provides a sum for the comprehensive development of a satellite-based sensor system for the location and tracking of missiles in their launching phase.

A number of additional tests are scheduled for this year, for example with particle weapons, an antimissile missile, and antisatellite weapons. Washington is well aware of the fact that what this boils down to is a breach of the 1972 ABM Treaty concluded with the Soviet Union for an unlimited period. It also knows that this threatens the halving of the strategic nuclear potentials that was agreed on with the USSR....

Nevertheless, it is also obvious that such dangerous plans have met with considerable resistance in Congress and have by no means been generally acclaimed by the administration. Neither have reasonable forces in Washington been impressed by the absurd argument which SDI initiator Edward Teller uses to generally promote tests like "Delta Star" and space armaments: He claims that these tests are necessary so that meteorites approaching the earth can be detected and destroyed.

Article Views U.S. Antisatellite Weapons

AU0604124389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Apr 89 p 2

["-ng" article: "ASAT Weapons—What for?"]

[Text] Bernard Weigang from Leipzig has asked what the construction of antisatellite weapons by the U.S. Army, which was ordered by the Pentagon, is all about.

According to THE WASHINGTON TIMES, the system, which is to be fully operational by the mid-nineties, consists of missiles that can be launched from land and sea against satellites. This is one of several conceivable possibilities for the destruction of reconnaissance satellites and other bodies in space. Like space weapons for the destruction of ballistic missiles, ASAT weapons (the name is derived from the English abbreviation) are an element of the militarization of space, toward which aggressive U.S. forces are aiming within the framework of the SDI program.

The presence of ASAT weapons would not only endanger the peaceful research and use of space, but also impede international security and confidence-building. This results from the fact that certain satellites, especially those belonging to the United States and the USSR, serve to gain information about the location of weapons systems. As national technological means, they provide indispensable verification and monitoring of the observation of concluded agreements on arms limitation and disarmament.

On 18 August 1983 the USSR introduced a unilateral moratorium on ASAT weapons, which remains in force as long as other states abstain from sending such systems into space. The testing of such weapons was banned by the U.S. Congress in 1983. Nevertheless, the Pentagon carried out several such tests, for example with a small missile that was launched from the F-15 bomber, with which a weather satellite at an altitude of 500 km was destroyed in September 1985. Since 1986, the U.S. Air Force has been testing a laser cannon at the White Sands testing ground in New Mexico.

The Pentagon project has met with criticism and resistance, even in the United States itself. Scientific and political experts have warned that it undermines U.S.-USSR disarmament efforts and threatens U.S. national security. It remains to be seen whether Congress will again curb the protagonists of ASAT weapons.

Central Committee Publishes 1 May Slogans

AU0704140889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Apr 89 p 1

["Slogans of the Socialist Unity Party Central Committee on 1 May 1989"]

[Text] 1. Long live 1 May, the militant day of the international workers class!
2. High achievements for the well-being of the people and for peace—Everything for the implementation of the resolutions of the 11th Socialist Unity Party [SED] Congress—Forward to the 40th anniversary of the GDR!
3. With a view to the 12th SED Congress we are solving the tasks of the present!
4. Forty years of GDR—Everything with the people, everything through the people, everything for the people!
5. Greetings and thanks to all working people for their contribution to the founding and growth of our GDR!
6. For peace and socialism—vote for the candidates of the National Front on 7 May!
7. For the further flourishing of our towns and villages—our vote to the candidates of the National Front on 7 May!
8. Forward on the tested course of the unity of economic and social policy!
9. With fulfilled plans to the elections on 7 May!
10. In tested alliance with the National Front for the well-being of the people!
11. Participate in working, participate in planning, participate in governing!

12. The stronger socialism, the more secure peace!
13. Stop the arms race! No modernization of nuclear weapons in Europe! For nuclear-free and chemical-weapons-free zones!
14. For conventional disarmament in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals!
15. Greetings to the fraternal parties and to the working people of all socialist countries! Together for peace and socialism!
16. Socialist economic integration—for close cooperation in science, technology, and production!
17. My work place—my combat station for peace!
18. As we work today so we will live tomorrow!
19. Fulfilling the 1989 plan with creativity and initiative in the socialist competition—we keep our word!
20. High labor productivity, efficiency, and quality by implementing the economic strategy!
21. Dynamic economic growth by widespread application and efficient utilization of the key technologies!
22. We consistently implement the housing program and solve the housing question as a social problem!
23. Researchers, constructors, and technologists! With bold ideas and energy toward new scientific-technological top achievements.
24. Cooperative peasants and workers of socialist agriculture! Make the 40th year of the GDR the year of highest yields and performances in the fields and animal sheds!
25. Working people of trade and services! Good service for the customers everyday—your contribution to the well-being of the citizens!
26. Employees of the health and social sector! Good care for the citizens—a basic concern of our socialist society!
27. University teachers and students! Strengthen our socialist state through mastering science!
28. With good education and training work everyday—forward to the Ninth Pedagogical Congress!
29. Young people! With high performances in the "GDR 40 FDJ Call"—forward to the "Whitsun Meeting of the FDJ"!
30. Young and Thaelmann Pioneers! With good results in fulfilling the pioneer assignment "My love, my deed for my home, the GDR"! Forward to the 40th anniversary of the GDR!
31. Athletes! Strive for high achievements in the "Sports Relay GDR 40"!
32. Artists and cultural workers! With new achievements for an inspiring cultural life in town and countryside!
33. Women and girls! All your strength for strengthening our socialist fatherland, for the happiness of our children!
34. Our deed in the "Beautify our towns and villages—Join in!" citizens initiative!
35. Members of the GDR National People's Army! In alliance with the brothers-in-arms—ready to defend peace and socialism!
36. Members of the GDR border troops! Reliably protected national borders at any time—your contribution to safeguarding peace.
37. Members of the defense and security forces! Members of the workers militia! All your strength for the protection of the socialist achievements!
38. Solidarity militant greetings to the communist and workers parties throughout the world!
39. Greetings to the DKP, which is struggling for peace, work, democracy, and social progress!
40. Solidary greetings to the SEW, which consistently struggles for the rights of the working people!
41. Struggle against neo-Nazism in the FRG—duty of all democratic forces!
42. Our anti-imperialist solidarity to the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America in their struggle for peace, national independence, and social progress!
43. Firm solidarity with the people of Nicaragua!
44. Solidarity with the just struggle of the people of Palestine! For a secure peace in the Middle East!
45. Away with apartheid! Solidarity with the struggle of the peoples in southern Africa!
46. Our greetings to the movement of nonaligned states in their struggle for peace, disarmament, and development!
47. Freedom for all communists imprisoned by reaction, for all fighters for peace and progress!
48. Ahead under the banner of Marx, Engels, and Lenin!
49. Long live proletarian internationalism!

Honecker Sends Condolences on Soviet Submarine

LD0904130789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1143 GMT 9 Apr 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has conveyed in a state telegram to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the deeply felt sympathy of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, and the GDR people for the victims of the tragic Soviet submarine accident. He asked that the sympathy of the GDR be expressed to the relatives of the victims.

'Arafat Pays Tribute to GDR Solidarity

AU1004093389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Apr 89 p 1

[Text] Addis Ababa (ADN)—Yasir 'Arafat, president of the State of Palestine and chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, has paid tribute to the GDR's solidarity and support for the just struggle of his people. In this way the GDR is helping the PLO in consistently advocating the initiation of a peace process in the Middle East, 'Arafat told a news conference given after his exchange of views with the Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile Mariam, in Addis Ababa. The Palestinians will never forget what the people and the government of the GDR, and Comrade Erich Honecker in particular, have done for the implementation of the Palestinians' self-determination and their right to create an independent state, 'Arafat pointed out.

Central Committee Position on Political Reforms

AU0704133489 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 1 Apr 89 p 3

["The Position of the MSZMP Central Committee on Some Topical Issues of the Reform of the Political System Issued on 29 March 1989"]

[Text] 1. Our party has set itself the goal of implementing an historic task: the creation of a new Hungarian practice of democratic socialism. The National Conference of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] of May 1988 opened up the way to the comprehensive and consistent implementation of economic and political reforms. There is need for a thorough modification of the political system because, despite our considerable achievements and our historical progress in Hungary's modernization, an economic-political and moral crisis has gradually emerged in Hungary in the past 1 or 1 and ½ decades. The reason for this can also be found in our failure to adjust to the new situation brought about by the sudden changes in the world economy. Even the better and more up-to-date policy conducted between 1956 and 1987 was not able to avoid the mistaken decisions deriving from an overly centralized system and the merger of party and state responsibilities. All this has strongly revealed the shortcomings in the functioning of the present social and economic system of socialism.

The applied model—which temporarily promoted considerable processes of modernization—has exhausted its reserves, and has even proved to be mistaken in many respects. Lack of adjustment to the new situation broke the 2 decades of considerable improvement in living conditions and led to a decline, and subsequently, to increasing social tensions, a lack of confidence in the leadership, and to a loss of prospects.

Our own experiences show that partial reforms do not lead to lasting results. A change has become inevitable, and this change simultaneously demands the renewal of economic, social, political, and intellectual-moral conditions. It also demands an increase in the general educational level of the population and an increased reliance on scientific achievements.

2. The MSZMP Conference of May 1988 created new conditions and formulated the need for and the direction of a change. Since then, publicity has widened and the democratization of our political institutions, their pluralism, has begun. These processes emerged very fast and created new general conditions that are not free of contradictions, either.

However, there has not been enough time for the reorganization of real economic and social processes and institutions, and the measures taken so far have not been adequate. A new economic reform strategy is currently being worked out; economic stabilization, restructuring, and laying the foundations of economic development require more time.

Most of the concepts aimed at eliminating the accumulated tensions emanated from the MSZMP, at the pressure of the party membership. Because of an earlier lack of publicity, most of these initiatives were unknown to the public. The MSZMP considers it necessary to come up with new initiatives. The party regards the economy as the most important area for these initiatives. The party proposes that the government accelerate the formulation of economic strategy by mobilizing the country's intellectual capacity. This should be based on an open, performance-oriented, efficient economic system of mixed ownership that asserts the economic rules and the world economic requirements, and which preserves the decisive role of community and state property in its major sectors.

It is a lesson of the past 2 decades that reorganization of our system of political institutions is also a condition for economic reform and for adjustment to the structural and qualitative requirements of the turn of the century. In this case, the economic and political elements of the reform will strengthen each other.

3. Despite all the previous efforts, the current practice of socialist society has been unable to create a democratic system of institutions in Hungary that would express and represent a variety of interests. The conditions of the one-party system and this system's practice in Hungary did not make it possible to develop the necessary decision alternatives, comparison of them, and general publicity and control by the public. All this caused large masses of people to turn away from politics and created distrust in the existing institutions.

The party conference formulated the demand for the democratic exercise of power and the creation of political pluralism to be implemented through a thorough reorganization of our system of political institutions. This will create conditions for the systematic expression of various interests, their coordination, and their transformation into political will. Both the development processes and the social organizations that emerged in the wake of this decision show that conditions for changing the circumstances of a one-party system are beginning to develop.

The position of the MSZMP is that the democratic exercise of power should be asserted through direct and representational democracy, supervised by society, and under the conditions of a multiparty system. The MSZMP is initiating the creation of conditions and constitutional guarantees for this.

4. A balanced transition to a multiparty system can only take place as a result of organic social processes. It is impossible to plan these processes exactly, but the cooperation of political movements and political factors involved in these processes can affect their development. The destabilization of these processes, the inability to control them, and the development of anarchic conditions could lead to a serious danger to society. This

cannot be in the interest of the nation or of any political force responsible for the fate of our country. We need a gradual transition, predictable political processes, and the easing of distrust. A forced acceleration of events or their artificial slowdown could cause equal damage.

The situation requires responsibility and self-restraint on the part of the political movements that have emerged in our society. They can contribute to solving the tasks facing the country by working out development-oriented programs, in addition to making critical remarks. Our nation is interested in competition between various political factors in working out realistic alternatives to aid development.

5. The MSZMP declares its readiness to conduct bilateral and multilateral negotiations on new ways of exercising power with every legally functioning organization. The conditions for cooperation are: respect for the Constitution and the law, the acceptance of the socialist road of social development, and respect for our international alliance obligations by striving to simultaneously eliminate the two military blocs.

The Central Committee appointed a working group to prepare the talks. On the basis of the preparatory talks, the Central Committee proposes the following agenda for genuine talks: the coordination of opinions connected with the preparation and content of the new constitution; debate on the issues connected with working out the election system and with cooperation at these elections; and the coordination of views on economic stabilization and the creation of citizens' secure welfare. The talks could lead to the creation of a permanent forum of consultations. All this could create the conditions for laying the foundations of national collaboration and providing possibilities for various political factors to participate in exercising power as coalition partners.

At the same time, there can also be movements and parties that function as the opposition within a constitutional framework. The MSZMP is striving to have a dialogue with these movements, too, and it will argue and, if necessary, will conduct a political struggle with them.

6. During the transition to a multiparty system, the MSZMP openly declares that it wants to play a decisive role in our society. This is justified by its political strength, its representation of a democratic socialist development, its social basis, and its historical experience. The MSZMP intends to guarantee its decisive role through political means, primarily through its program, persuasion, and the personal work and attitude of its members.

For the party to be able to advance in the vanguard of social changes, it should first of all renew itself. This is possible only by preparing for political competition. For this, we should make our long-term strategic goals more clear and we should formulate a short-term political and election program. Around this program, and by means of debates, we should develop and strengthen the political center of the party and the action unity of its organizations. We should further develop our party democracy.

The MSZMP wants to play an open role in the major changes and in the implementation of these changes, in awareness of its social and historical responsibility.

7. We should formulate the party's stands on the new method of exercising power and on its relations with representational and self-governing bodies, as well as with the state institutions. The new constitution and the new election law will play a decisive role in the comprehensive transformation of our system of political institutions. In connection with this, the Central Committee will work out its stand on the basis of the lessons deriving from the debates within the party.

The Central Committee is certain that its initiatives aimed at a consistent development of political pluralism serve the interests of our entire society, the opportunity for development, and our national goals. In this, a great international responsibility falls upon the MSZMP. Our party calls upon its members and all forces in our country that are ready to act to participate in renewing our society through responsible debates, deeds, and social cooperation.

MSZMP Initiates Interest-Coordinating Forum

Some Oppositionists Refuse To Attend

LD0804090689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 8 Apr 89

[Text] The interest-coordinating forum is being held in Budapest today after having been initiated by the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. However, the opposition roundtable, which is comprised of eight independent organizations, is not sending its representatives to the talks. The opposition roundtable consists of the Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Society, the Federation of Young Democrats, the Independent Smallholders Party, the Social Democratic Party, and the Alliance of Free Democrats. They will later give detailed explanations for their decision, but they have already indicated that after an appropriate preparation of negotiations they want to participate in the planned national roundtable talks. The New March Front will also stay away from today's exchange of views.

New March Front Boycotts Forum

LD0804091189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 8 Apr 89

[From the press review]

[Excerpt] The New March Front finds that events are not going well in our homeland and therefore it does not intend to participate in today's interest-coordination forum. Ivan Vitanyi, acting secretary, says in MAGYAR

NEMZET that during the negotiations, declarations, and debates to date, precisely those problems and cirumstances were forgotten for which it proposed creating the national committee. The MSZMP has turned the issue into a bagatelle while the opposition roundtable entered into a superficial debate with the party. [passage omitted]

Seven Groups Attend Roundtable

LD0804203689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 8 Apr 89

[Text] In Budapest, at the initiative of the MSZMP, seven political and social organizations held a discussion on forming a political interest-coordinating forum. Altogether 15 organizations were officially invited to the preparatory discussions of the national roundtable, but of the newly formed organizations, only the Independent Smallholders Party took part. Along with the MSZMP, the Patriotic People's Front, the Association of Hungarian Resistance Fighters and Antifascists, the National Council of Hungarian Women, the National Council of Trade Unions, and the Ferenc Munnich Society also took part in the talks.

The participants considered the endeavor to create a forum with a national roundtable character to be timely, and they assured it of their support. At the same time, they regretted that the members of the opposition roundtable had not taken part in the current discussion. Every contributor underlined the necessity to surmount, with common accord, the difficulties that have arisen. For this reason, they continue to wait for the political organizations that accept responsibility for the country's fate to join the preparatory discussions.

The eight independent organizations who stayed away from the talks announced at a news conference that they remain ready to negotiate, but they object to the fact that the current talks were not satisfactorily prepared and that the MSZMP did not take into account the ideas of the opposition roundtable. On the basis of all this, the independent organizations did not believe that there was a guarantee that they would be able to conduct a genuine dialogue at the meeting announced by the MSZMP for today. At the same time, the participants in the opposition roundtable are willing, following circumspect coordination, to begin genuine negotiations.

Grosz To Visit Bulgaria 'Second Half' of April

LD0704194589 Budapest MTI in English 1848 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Budapest, April 7 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, is to pay a friendly working visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria in the second half of April. Mr Grosz is meeting an invitation from Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and president of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Straub Leaves for 'Private Visit' to USSR

LD0704221789 Budapest MTI in English 2127 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Budapest, April 7 (MTI)—Bruno F. Straub, academician and president of the Hungarian Presidential Council, left for a private visit to the Soviet Union on Friday [7 April].

Mr Straub will be the guest of the Pushchino-based Protein Research Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

Gyula Horn on Romanian, Pact, European Ties

LD0604135589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1825 GMT 5 Apr 89

[From the "News, Arguments, Opinions" program; interview with Gyula Horn, state secretary at the Foreign Ministry and secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party International, Legal, and Public Administration Committee, by Jozsef Laszlo; date, place not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Horn] It really seems to be a platitude, but it is true that Hungary is open. And this is a fundamental [adottsag]. But, at the same time, it is a demand. By this I mean that for us it is a fundamentally important and decisive viewpoint that we should carry on with our inner renewal, including a multiparty system, the creation of constitutional statehood, and so on. For this we require, on the one hand, supporters in the sphere of our partners, of our foreign partners. On the other hand, we need to neutralize the efforts of those who do not agree with this renewal, either in our narrower or in our broader environment. We have to start here.

A fundamental tenet of this country it that it is a member of the Warsaw Pact. It belongs to an alliance system that evolved amid determined historical circumstances, regardless of whether this happened with or without our consent. But, this has to be reckoned with. For me a fundamentally important demand or viewpoint is what commitment is implied by our belonging to this alliance system, whether it impedes or perhaps assists our inner renewal. And in this I consider it likewise fundamentally important that we should try to settle our internal relations—that is, our relations within the Warsaw Pact. I mean that our belonging to, our membership in the Warsaw Pact should have no consquences that might constrain our inner renewal.

In concrete terms, we have to work so that within the Warsaw Pact the priority should be not the coordination of foreign political steps—as was fairly characteristic of our international situation in the past—but, let us say, the practice and system of consultations, so it will not impede the assertion of our national fundamental tenets or demands—in other words, the possibility of our catching up to Europe.

[Laszlo] You mentioned that it is our national interests which you consider to be the priority in setting foreign policy. How much do you believe that, in an as yet nonexistent but anticipated coalition period, foreign policy could be formed on a coalition basis? I ask this because I believe that the national interest can be interpreted in several ways, such as in the cases of the various political movements, embryonic parties, and parties. Here I am thinking of the decisions concerning Hungarian-Romanian ties or the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros power plant.

[Horn] In my opinion (?it is simple). Already until now, in the past years, or in the course of nearly 1 and ½ decades, a certain kind of coalition thinking has been asserted in Hungarian foreign policy. In concrete terms, what do I mean? This is in spite of the fact that the Soviet Union's and our situation to a certain extent—moreover to a significant extent in the past, earlier years; that is, in the period before the May 1988 party conference—was characterized by a kind of stagnation. At the same time, many—not us, not foreign affairs people, but others—say that Hungary's foreign policy has succeeded. What can we thank for this? First and foremost that we took extremely seriously the 1975 Helsinki Final Act. The Final Act, its recommendations, principles, and so on, represented a basis on which Hungarian foreign policy was able to build, and which practically made it possible for us to assert our fundamentals connected with openness. The result of this was that while relations between the West and a whole series of other allied countries stagnated and they asserted a very hard foreign-policy line, we were realizing a flexible foreign policy in our country, an openness, a building of relations, a policy, and a practice. In this a very large role was played by the various social movements, opinions, and so on. Therefore, there did exist a kind of pluralism in foreign policy. That is one element.

The other element is that now we can strengthen this. In my view, in any event it has to be strengthened in this way. When I examine the programs of the various organizations and alternative or independent organizations, I find no fundamentally significant difference between our—that is to say the official policy—efforts and the other programs. What do I mean in concrete terms? We, too, seek the attainment of neutrality as a long-term objective, but perhaps with this difference: that our belonging to the alliance system, as I said earlier, is a fundamental tenet; it came into being amid historically evolved circumstances. But we must not become resigned to this [de ebbe nem szabad belenyugodnunk], that this should forever be the case. At most there is a difference in setting the tempo, because in our judgement we must continually exert ourselves. If, for instance, I take seriously the elimination of Europe's division into two parts, and the creation of a unified Europe, to try and develop conditions—and we are proceeding in this direction—we are trying to create this condition, the condition of a unified Europe, and we want Hungary to find her place in it. As I said, here it is at most a difference in tempo or in the manner of the solution. But I will not dramatize these differences, because very serious debates are being held about this in foreign affairs and among those dealing with foreign policy.

The other thing, for example, concerns Hungarian-Romanian relations. Look, we, too, consider what is happening in Romania to be an anachromism. As a matter of fact, this—the policy there—is entirely ontrary to the current European processes, the civilizeu demands of Europeans. But how can we solve this? By no means can we do it by formulating and trying to assert some kind of, perchance extraordinarily extreme, deman's. No one will support us in this. On the contrary, we could even become isolated. For this very reason what we seek—and I think I do not have to prove that we are formulating this in international forums and elsewhere, too, even undertaking risks—is that even concerning Romania, or concerning the Romanian policy—and we would always stress this difference—one has to demand the assertion of universal human rights. The attention of international public opinion must be drawn to this.

And so, more significant differences mostly exist in the method of attaining the objective, in its tools or its pace. However, there are no significant differences in the basic efforts, in my opinion.

Views Pluralism, Pact Relations

LD0904213989 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 9 Apr 89

[From "The Week" program; interview with Gyula Horn, state secretary for foreign affairs, by Istvan Sandor; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Obviously it is mere coincidence that the headquarters of the Foreign Ministry, on the Bem embankment in Buda, lie nearly opposite the headquarters of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], on the other side of the Danube. However, besides the fact that they are geographically opposite one another, for decades every other difference has been inconceivable between the two institutions, and if there were any differences, then the public was scarcely informed of them. Seen from the outside, the process of reaching decisions appeared to be smooth, indeed unanimous, and everyone knew that the Foreign Ministry's standpoint was, for the most part, identical to the opinion or decision of party headquarters. The situation nowadays is more complex, for it would be impossible for anyone to try to maintain this formal practice—this would meet with the astonishment, and perhaps antipathy, of our foreign negotiating partners, seeing that they, too, know nearly everything about the changes in power relations on our country's political battleground, for these changes cannot be disregarded in foreign affairs. Istvan Sandor now discusses the change in style with Gyula Horn, state secretary for foreign affairs:

[Sandor] These days, has it become more difficult to officially engage in foreign-affairs activities in Hungary now that we moving toward a pluralistic domestic political system? What I am thinking of is that previously, the foreign policy of a country headed by the MSZMP, and of a government headed by the MSZMP, were identical as well as relatively unknown. The parties and political groupings are being organized and formed one after the other, and these obviously have their own ideas on foreign affairs. Sooner or later they will have their own foreign political relations.

[Horn] This is a contradictory situation for me. I not only agree with the great majority of ideas raised by the independent organizations and movements in the framework of pluralism, but I also regard them as very useful and instructive.

[Sandor] For example?

[Horn] For example, catching up with the level of the Europeans, or strengthening relations with Western Europe, or, for example—I emphasize that this is my personal opinion—I consider the approach to democracy, a good interpretation of democratic requirements and institutions, to be very important. In concrete terms, what I am thinking of is that democracy does not depend on social systems or makeup; the requirements and institutions of democracy should be universal.

Many useful proposals, conceptions, ideas, and demands are formulated which we, we who deal with foreign policy, must to the maximum extent take into account.

I also must say that there are, at the same time, unrealistic demands concerning, for example, Hungarian-Romanian ties or the Warsaw Pact. Because I am interested in what serves the country's interests, I would have great difficulty in accepting these demands. I believe that this would aggravate our situation rather than facilitate it.

[Sandor] So are you now concretely referring to the demands related to leaving the Warsaw Pact?

[Horn] For example, of that.

[Sandor] According to some, Hungary should increasingly seek to attain some kind of neutrality, and our orientation, which to date has been for the most part toward the East and the Soviet Union, ought to change, because our economic future lies in the direction of economically more developed Western Europe and the capitalist world, which gives more room for maneuver.

[Horn] Look, let us divide this issue into two parts. One concerns the issue of neutrality. In my view, what is fundamental for us is that this membership in the Warsaw Pact developed from historical factors, it could be said, independently of the nation's will. This is a situation which cannot be maintained forever, for one day we must jointly create a unified Europe which is free of blocs. The most important thing for me, of course, is that within this Warsaw Pact, we should guarantee independence to the maximum extent. Therefore, membership should not curtail our need or efforts to be able to move independently, on the basis of soveriegn decisions, toward any other country or organization of integration. For me, this is what is important in connection with the Warsaw Pact, and I emphasize, as this has earlier arisen several times, that I believe that the Soviet leadership is our partner in this.

My other point, which is also fundamental, is: In my view, after 1945, and mainly 1948-49, there was a shift in orientation which was not in harmony with the country's endowments and traditions of the time, or earlier. We excessively orientated ourselves in a single direction, and we broke off the traditional relations, which, for example, linked us to Western Europe. This must be reversed. Many-sided economic cooperation and other relations must be developed primarily with the countries that produce achievements, where there is rapid, spectacular, and successful technical, scientific, and economic development. This should not, however, be at the cost of our drastically breaking off relations with the Soviet Union or CEMA. There is no question of that, because that would not bring about a dramatic change, and it would entail grave political damage or other losses. What is necessary in bilateral relations, within CEMA, is that we should try to assert to the utmost the most rigorous economic interests.

[Sandor] So we should say goodbye to the fraternal, friendly, and other adjectives.

[Horn] The time for these has expired; in the economy, it is the very rigorous laws and interests which should determine cooperation.

[Sandor] Returning, for a minute, to the possibility for foreign policy, henceforth, to have many voices. Can you imagine a party in Hungary which after the next election remains in the opposition, because it has not received enough votes to have a government, but which maintains closer relations with another governing fraternal party elsewhere, let us say in Western Europe—whether or not it is social democratic or Christian democratic? To what extent will this kind of system of relations change official Hungarian foreign policy's room for maneuver?

[Horn] To tell you the truth, we have not yet thought that through. For my part, I and every foreign-affairs leader instead seeks to shape an existence and, if possible, an everyday relationship with the various independent organizations and alternative movements.

[Sandor] On an entirely differnt topic, as it is connected, via you, to the previous conversation: The MSZMP general secretary a few days ago indicated that the Yugoslav leadership is willing to hand over important documents, hitherto unknown to us, relating to the 1956-58 period. If I am right, you will be the person who

will receive these documents, as organizer of the work of the historical subcommittee. What do you expect; what significance might these documents have; and to what extent might they change the view of this period which has so far recently taken shape in our country?

[Horn] What we published in TARSADALMI SZEMLE is a preliminary report. It can not be viewed in any way as a final assessment. As we progress further in this study, I must say that we are coming across many kinds of unknown, previously unknown things that perhaps may require a reassessment of the entire period. That is one thing which is very important.

The other thing that I also consider to be fundamental is that neither the political leadership, including the party Politburo and Central Committee, nor we have demanded of ourselves that we must reach this or that kind of conclusion. That is not the case. We have said that we should analyze and study the documents, and on this basis we will draw up a report which we will submit to the Central Committee.

[Sandor] What will happen if, with the knowledge of these documents, the historical subcommittee reaches a conclusion and submits to the Central Committee an analysis which places the main current or recent figures of Hungarian political life in an entirely different and possibly unfavorable light?

[Horn] It would be a thankless thing to predict whether this will place them in a more unfavorable light or one that is more unfavorable than in the past. Previous studies indicate, rather, that international factors and matters had a much greater role in the shaping of Hungarian developments than we might have once believed. It could be said that these had a determining role in essential, decisive events and turnabouts and changes. As for the heart of the matter: We are preparing this analysis. My plan is to discuss it with historians before I hand in the evaluation. The Central Committee should then decide what the further fate of the material is to be.

[Sandor] Do you suppose that this will later be made public so that everyone can have access to it?

[Horn] I absolutely think so; I think it is necessary for us to publish it.

Pozsgay Discusses Need To Renew MSZMP

LD0604224689 Budapest MTI in English 2213 GMT 6 Apr 89

[Text] Budapest, April 6 (MTI)—The renewal of the HSWP [Hungarian Social Workers Party] is at least as important as the establishment of political pluralism, from the point of view of solving the current crisis situation, said Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Political Committee. Mr Pozsgay was addressing the second day of the national university forum held in Budapest.

Discussing the role of the HSWP, Mr Pozsgay said that the economic and social crisis has made it unavoidable for the party to recognize that upholding the reflex deriving from the Stalinist model which fears for its power can lead to political defeat. He added that alongside the new parties and movements, society needs a strong HSWP as compromise is inconceivable without a HWSP that progresses to its own clarification.

Mr Pozsgay unanimously evaluated the appearance of new political organizations that seek the various means of solving the crisis situation to be a positive development, and said the complete re-thinking of social and political relations cannot be linked to the initiating role of any single party. In his view, a kind of social uprise could be occasioned if no genuine pluralism was reached or no authentic political division came about.

Evaluating, Mr Pozsgay noted it would be an illusion to think that the process has been completed, as the conditions of civic sovereignty and self-determination have not yet been created, and the social environment is still strongly determined by the Stalinist structure.

In a certain sense, society is suspending cooperation with power, in as far as even the most obliging political conduct power is received with mistrust in the crisis situation. This crisis of legitimacy can be surpassed only with political cooperation, rather than with concessions, and political pluralism offers the solution, said Minister of State Imre Pozsgay.

* Pokol Views Reform Versus Hard-line Forces

25000154c Budapest MARCZIUS TIZENOTODIKE in Hungarian 15 Mar 89 p 4

[Article by Bela Pokol, political scientist and member of the advisory commission to the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Council of Ministers: "Stalemate at the Top"]

[Text] Like a knife through butter: that is how quickly the new militant spokesmen of the camp of political reforms are moving ahead with their demands among the softened upper echelons of power. Only a Bolshevik loyal to the golden age of his ideals could have reacted with the same sense of self-importance and arrogance to the doubts expressed regarding the purported evidence of the coming of communism, as some of these unscrupulous "liberals" move to rebuke anyone who in connection with the political reforms dares to call attention to certain geo-political facts or to the need for compromise. Seventy years ago one with such inflexible beliefs undoubtedly would have been called a professional revolutionary, not a liberal reformer; it is amazing what these expressions tolerate!

Modernization at a Dead End

Not since the time of the Turkish yoke has modernization in Hungary been at the kind of hopeless dead end as the one we have been led to by the end of the 1980's by the Stalinist system and its successors. Hence it appears to be an almost incredible stroke of historical luck that owing to a coincidence of a series of fortuitous circumstances it now appears possible—in Hungary more so than anywhere else in central Europe—to crawl out of this ditch without falling back into it, provided that our society's elite proves to be smart enough. From a centralized, empire-like society that stifles negotiation and independent rationalization, we now have a chance to grow into a complex and modern society, the kind towards which our country has taken the most successful steps in recent years. These unscrupulous and uncompromising "reformers" have no idea what they are risking by demanding "all or nothing." Unwavering principles of this sort are grand enough even to find salvation at the stake; the problem, however, is not with their beliefs, but rather with the fact that should they fail, an innocent society might also be condemned to the stake with them.

I have grown ambivalent to the series of events that have occurred in the past few months. Because along with all the good things that have begun—i.e., pluralization, discussions of politics by the masses—I also see the reforming ability of the system slowly withering away. This is clear from the direction in which the alternative organizations and parties have developed. By directly mobilizing a few thousand people, these organizations have succeeded in applying immense political pressure, and the things which for years we have been unable to attain in the area of political reform by pleading and by trying to convince and reason with people via our various publications, are now moving ahead with full force. Indeed without the political pressure of the alternative organizations the ruling power has not taken any important steps in the area of political reforms! At the same time, however, this spontaneous political organization has also produced spokesmen and demands that go beyond the reformability of the existing system. The same tendency, without which the process of political reform could not have begun, is already digging the grave of the reforms.

Similarly ambivalent are the effects of other processes aimed at clearing the way for political reform demands to assert themselves. It is obvious that without the personal changes that had occurred at the top echelons of power last May, the cautious paltering of the past would have continued. There is one side to these changes, however, which to me appears dangerous as I weigh the future fate of the reforms. For what has evolved in the wake of this change in power—more or less by accident—is a power stalemate at the top, meaning that the already existing "reformer versus conservative wing" duo has successfully worked itself into the inner circles of power all the way to the top. As a result, the upper echelons of power have taken a benevolently "softened" attitude towards reforms, and it was this softened upper echelon of power which in turn the masses of alternative organizations have been able to pressure.

By Way of Preliminary Pacts?

And finally, I have also become ambivalent to the fact that as a result of all this the earlier mentioned "unappeasables" of the political reform camp have also begun to entertain some false notions. They have begun to equate the actual power with the softened upper echelons, failing to recognize that its tougher deep layers are no more willing to yield than they were a year ago. Since the change at the top, therefore, a two-layered power structure has evolved, with the softened upper echelon appearing more visible to the public. This can engender dangerous illusions, as the deceptive situation will only amplify the spontaneous movements' unwillingness to compromise. (Which may be perfectly understandable in the sense that it would indeed be great if limitless pluralism could be stabilized overnight, without any need for interim compromises.) We must be aware of this trap, for it is not visible on the surface.

Slowly it will be time for the reform camp to face up to the increasingly radical to of certain demands and their potential consequences. The view that "this camp is so small that it can accommodate all who want pluralism" cannot be defended for much longer. Without being afraid to break away, the reform camp must clearly isolate itself from the "unappeasables" and their demands. I would advise the same split for the intellectual wing of the political reformers. Those who by virtue of their positions are able not only to look at the surface of things, but also to analyze the political and power relationships within their proper context, cannot afford to be as naive as the unappeasables of the militant wing of the spontaneous political movements.

These are the precepts from which we must proceed as we chart our reform alternatives and search for specific reform plans that are worth representing today. The importance of the watershed the compromise-minded reform wing is able to arrive at will depend on the kind of answer they come up with regarding the nature of future compromises between today's power wielding monopoly party and the proponents of a multiparty system. What most such reformers visualize is a unified state power enshrined in a new constitution, operating on the basis of constitutional law and embodying the principles of an unrestricted multiparty system. Compromises, according to their concept, would be negotiated on an ad-hoc basis, guided by the terms of preelection political pacts. (According to one plan, for example, in the first election the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] would be allowed to retain a 51-percent majority, while others would grant today's holders of power 100 seats for the next 1 or 2 years. Also concocted in the spirit of this concept is a plan to ensure, by way of preelection political agreements, that the

representatives of today's ruling power would retain control over the key ministries, and thus that the other parties would only have access to the rest.)

In contrast, I see a need for a more honest, and more lasting kind of constitutionally defined division of power. For several reasons. First of all, I believe that such preliminary pacts would stifle the political goals expressed by society at the elections. In order for us to be able to negotiate compromises and share power over the heads of the electorate, we would need to employ thousands of different stratagems to manipulate the course of the elections. The other problem stems from the fact that this concept would considerably jeopardize the fate of the reforms. For it proceeds too much from the fact of the existing relations between the (in addition to other factors) reform-influenced and -dominated ruling power and the more rational leaders of the alternative forces. But what will happen if as a result of new tensions induced by a continued economic decline during the next few years, the "unappeasables" end up gaining ground—sweeping today's alternative leaders by the way side—or if from the other direction, the Stalinists, who are already brandishing their weapons, take power?

Constitutional Guarantees!

What we need to do, therefore, is to place the stability of the reform state on more solid foundations; in constitutional terms, we must temporarily divide state power between the two organizational centers of power. Today's party of monopoly must, for the next few years, continue to retain the right of decisionmaking over our alliance membership and all related foreign- and defense-policy matters. At the same time, all other spheres of power unconnected with these areas must be transferred to a multiparty-representative parliament. This kind of clearly defined division of power would make it impossible, during this transitional period, for anyone to question certain given facts and thereby to endanger the stabilization of political pluralism. What is also needed, however, is a precise formula to be included in the constitution that would make it possible to declare as unconstitutional and disband those Stalinist organizations which already raising their heads—and counting on future tensions—are plotting to restore the monolithic power structure of the prereform era.

Rather unfortunately, however, the aforementioned, consistently center- course political direction is not supported by the earlier mentioned stalemate in today's top echelons of power. The logic of this situation fuels the wrong kind of division, causing both wings to define their alliances in overly broad terms. The conservatives are flirting with the armed supporters of Stalinist restoration, while the other wing—if only to offset those ties—is trying to bring within its fold anyone striving for pluralism.

A few months ago I thought that the Polish political failure could only serve as a frightening example for us, as something which must be avoided and prevented. Now I find that at least in one important respect our situation is even more hopeless than what the Poles are facing. For there, simultaneously with the spontaneous political organization of society, the state power has gradually succeeded over the past few years in eliminating the Stalinist-reformist split, and having forced the "hard-core" elements out of the halls of power, and imposed strict controls on the apparatuses of force, it is now moving straight toward political reforms. Although in many respects Poland is still in chaos—its state of economic bankruptcy is more acute than ours—its situation already lends itself better to the stabilization of political pluralism.

Who would have believed that in the area of reforms we would someday be envious of the Poles!

* Party Official Discusses Consensus, Power

25000156a Budapest MARCIUS TIZENOTODIKE in Hungarian 15 Mar 89 p 9

[Interview with Laszlo Gyuricza, first secretary of the MSZMP Veszprem County Committee, by Gabor Szenyi; date, place not given: "Is the Party's Odometer Working? Laszlo Gyuricza on Fear, Consensus, and the Preservation of Power"]

[Text] We have been unable to make use of such philosophical statements as "self-awareness is also determined by location" for a long time because the past decades prove that both are hard to change in Hungary, especially when we also get entangled in the linkage presumed in such statements. Nevertheless, this is what we tried to do with Laszlo Gyuricza, first secretary of the Veszprem Megye [county] party committee. He is 57 years old, previously was a factory director and then chairman of a megye council, and assumed his present office 4 years ago. He has been a member of the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Central Committee since 1987. With regard to self-awareness, he makes no secret of having some doubts himself.

The Feeling of Being Cheated

[Szenyi] At the 27 February meeting of the independent parliamentary deputies, Imre Varga made a statement worthy of attention: "During the past 40 years, the party has exercised monarchic dictatorial power and strengthened this power from time to time with armed terror; the emergence of life without fear would be important." The words "would be" are especially disheartening. In your opinion, why do we still need to be afraid?

[Gyuricza] I cannot accept this statement as it is. I feel that the methods of power, as exercised by the party, are supported by public opinion and have a considerable social base. And no small role has been played in this by the persons criticizing today. Really, it was precisely the

magnitude of the social base that made the manifestation of contrary opinions, in their smaller or larger details, illusionary. Behind manifestations of this kind, I have always suspected that individual persons will not take responsibility for themselves, for continuity, and perhaps their fear of themselves makes them say these words.

[Szenyi] If you consider the issue too general, I can narrow it down. It was reported on television news that police dispersed the Polish venders in Varpalota with billy clubs. Several subjects of the report expressed the opinion that people do not testify because everyone is afraid! I fear that their anxiety is fostered not only by the uniforms and the event; perhaps the fact that Veszprem Megye has not been, to put it mildly, the land of reformers before, might also be instrumental.

[Gyuricza] Police encroachment truly occurred in Varpalota; however, I see a tendency in the selection of interviewed persons and in the recording of their words.

[Szenyi] Is not the danger rather that the encroachments are becoming a tendency?

[Gyuricza] I do not think so. But this occurrence must not be used in any way to discredit the police. That Veszprem Megye has not been a land of reformers before? I cannot agree with this either. It was reform-minded before and is so now. It is another question what person or persons represented Veszprem. This general remark especially does not stand if we note the megye's general economic condition. In 1988 we did not have a single producing cooperative that closed with a deficit. Our megye was almost first in shouldering, by itself, the liquidation of a large construction enterprise, that of the Veszprem State Construction Enterprise, and it did this without much disturbance.

[Szenyi] Since when are you a reformer? Please do not take offense at this question but, on the trail of political directional changes, many people, obviously only out of consideration, refrain from complaining about their trials and tribulations. One is ashamed listening to the refrain, "Even back then, I ..." But if you claim that with a clear conscience, I believe you.

[Gyuricza] I have never measured my work by asking whether or not I was a reformer. This question is becoming compulsory only today. As factory director, as chairman of a megye council, and now, also as first secretary, I always endeavored to serve the common good.

[Szenyi] Possibly, your rather avant-garde initiative also serves the common good: that the megye party committee is using its motor vehicles in good condition for hauling and taxi service, and is offering its municipal party residences to vacationers. How much of this can be shouldered politically by this economically enterprising party and, personally, by you, Laszlo Gyuricza?

[Gyuricza] Today an enterprising party is still astonishing because the issues of ownership are as confused regarding the MSZMP as they are the entire country. But I consider the concept of an enterprising party very important, for in the future such a body cannot be maintained through membership fees. And if we leave the marriage of party and state behind, the new parties are also well advised to take this into consideration. What can I, personally, shoulder politically? By virtue of my origin and my impulse: service to the working masses. Even then if one sometimes has inner conflicts arising from this ...

[Szenyi] This sounds so good but what inner conflicts are you thinking of?

[Gyuricza] As a reformer, I support the attempts for renewal but, at the same time, I know that everything this entails may elicit in the masses a feeling of being cheated. This is why I am deeply concerned about the statement in the draft of the new constitution that it is the state's responsibility to moderate the inequality of opportunity, although we have always thought in terms of equal opportunity.

[Szenyi] The riffraff of public life, e.g., bribed public administrators, party officials involved in housing and real estate dealings, big and small corruption, have been coming out of the woodwork. Which is functioning better in Veszprem Megye, public morality or a restraint level of publicity?

[Gyuricza] I do not know of any such restraint. It is a fact, however, that our megye is, by and large, calm. The reasons for this are, among other things, that there are no sharp infrastructural and economic differences between the individual regions, that the structures of industry and employment are sufficiently combined, and that within families several social strata are represented. We encourage a dialogue between people with different views. We have abandoned the role of commanding party. You are curious about public morality? Why would this be the only thing to remain unequivocal? Ethical viewpoints are applied in the investigation of instances where no statutes have been violated but at the same time, with regard to the future, our standard is the principle that anything that is not prohibited by law is allowed. Incidentally, in Veszprem Megye I am thinking of the Balaton coast; it is primarily not Veszpremians who have concerns!

Transition: But How?

[Szenyi] What did you stand for or against at the 10-11 February Central Committee meeting?

[Gyuricza] I took a stand on several issues, e.g., in what ways the reform processes can be regulated and controlled. I reviewed the influencing factors such as, for

instance, mass communication; however, I did not dwell on it for as long as is fashionable today, although I feel that it has made itself excessively independent. Its directional drift does not show.

[Szenyi] What is it that does not show?

[Gyuricza] What I want to say is that it influences more emotionally, and does not mobilize society toward concrete action. I do not feel that today's situation is reflected in the press.

[Szenyi] Why, what does it reflect?

[Gyuricza] It reflects its own situation more. Besides, I dealt with the safeguards that guarantee the normal functioning of a state; with the situation of the army, the police, the attorney, the courts, and with the idea that these organizations must be preserved intact even during the course of political "reorganizations". I also spoke, of course, about the Workers Guard. I believe that it must be maintained, because it can mean a stabilizing force although not as an armed body of the party but as that of the working class.

[Szenyi] This would necessitate amending the founding by-laws.

[Gyuricza] Why? It was established not on a party basis but so the country would not again become involved in the final developments of 1956.

[Szenyi] That, perhaps, should not be guaranteed primarily through weapons, after all.

[Gyuricza] This is very true, and this is what the party's intentions for democratization corroborate. The present Central Committee is reformist. With regard to 1956, if I consider the three definitions, namely, that it was a popular uprising, a popular uprising associated with counterrevolutionary events, or a counterrevolution, I would almost have bet that the middle or first definition would get the most votes. The focus of disagreement, which is feared by many people, is not between reformers and conservatives but between those who want to speed up the changes and those who are cautious. We have spoken much about a public consensus, but the masses did not, could not, understand what the issues were, because in order for any kind of consensus to be born one must fence oneself off from something. Everyone has a vested interest in and there is an apparent agreement in this that this must be accomplished in a peaceful manner. Well, I am among those who do not have much faith in this. History shows something slightly different. While the new forces expose the previous power's methods and abuses, they gradually adopt the latter's means. Inquiries are made into whether or not Imre Nagy's execution was legal and whether or not the sentence was adequately supported by elements of indictment. What could the reaction to this be? Obviously, that those who committed that act also must be executed. This, however, does not lead to public consensus any more.

[Szenyi] From your point of view, what does the statement that the party will not voluntarily relinquish power mean?

[Gyuricza] If someone alleges this, he is confusing certain concepts. Power is often confused with the state, and the state and power are identified with the party. However, it is also a historical lesson that the downfall of those in power always has a moral character at first, and is always bloodless and without arms. This is how it was in 1848, in 1919 and, in certain respects, also in 1956. What follows after power is handed over is another question.

[Szenyi] What is more reassuring, to argue with FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats] or to be confident about the support of, say, the Ferenc Munnich Society?

[Gyuricza] Up to now we could speak only of pseudodebates, since we began with the idea that there is a resolution or a viewpoint that the others must be persuaded to accept. Today no one has such a mandatory viewpoint in effect. We are trying to find out together what we should do. I believe this to be of great value. It would be unfortunate to exclude FIDESZ, SZDSZ [expansion unknown], or even the Ferenc Munnich Society from it.

Yesterday's Sins, Today's Virtues

[Szenyi] Do you not feel that instead of being a member of a party that is taking initiatives, you belong to one that is being carried along more and more by public will, one that is raising exactly those demands on its banner it not long ago still severely punished? All this, besides being highly suspected of plagiarism, which is dangerously eroding the faith and trust which has been worn thin already.

[Gyuricza] I do feel that the party is drifting. I illustrated this recently by saying that while the social processes are advancing at 100 km per hour, the party's speed is only 60 km per hour. And this difference has not decreased in recent times, but increased. It is also true that the party is now carrying banners with things it severely punished in the recent past. This caused great dissension in the party's rank and file as well. It is fact that the MSZMP has disintegrated by now because the 800,000 membership is unable to follow the social movements. For this reason I more than once raised the necessity of membership revision and of a name change for the party. For in 1956, when we changed from direct Stalinism to a more covert Stalinism, the MDP [Hungarian Workers' Party] became the MSZMP. Today a much larger reorganization is at issue and I can hardly imagine that it will be possible to continue with all this under the same name.

[Szenyi] As president of the parliament's National Defense Committee, what is your opinion of the often-voiced view that the police and the army should remain independent from the party?

[Gyuricza] I agree with the view that the police and the Army, as bodies, should remain independent. But how about their members? It is yet to be decided whether party organizations need be created within the armed bodies. If not, then, in my opinion, the members of the bodies may join any party or association where they live, for it is their constitutional right to do so.

[Szenyi] You graduated from the university named after Mendeleyev in the Soviet Union, majoring in gunpowder and war materiel. I presume that you have a rather good ear for "noises".

[Gyuricza] If you are alluding to that, I can tell exactly whether something was a pop, a shot, or an explosion....

[Szenyi] God grant that you never be asked to serve as a specialist.

[Gyuricza] God grant it.

Cooperation Agreement Signed With Israel

LD0704193789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] A Hungarian-Israeli scientific, althletic, and cultural cooperation agreement has been initialed in Jerusalem. It has been announced in Israel, however, that the agreement just signed will only come into force when diplomatic relations are established between the two countries and the competent ministers officially conclude the agreement.

Official Lauds Soviet Foreign Policy Stands

LD0704194389 Budapest MTI in English 1758 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Budapest, April 7 (MTI)—At the session of the Presidium of the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society (MSZBT) held Friday [7 April] in Budapest, there was a heated debate on the renewal of the movement, but finally the body approved the proposal on amending the structure.

After the conference had been opened by MSZBT President Antal Apro, Pal Ivanyi, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and secretary of the Central Committee, briefed participants on the development of Hungarian-Soviet politica-land economic relations. Mr Ivanyi said that on the basis of the new foreign policy philosophy and the constructive stand of the Soviet Union, major and favourable-changes have begun in international relations. The improvement of international relations is an indispensable external factor for Hungary, he said, and the new Soviet foreign political way of thinking assists the more extensive enforcement of Hungarian interests. Mr Ivanyi noted that the identical nature of the Hungarian and the Soviet foreign political efforts is also apparent in the fact that both countries invariably hold it necessary to continue the efforts aimed at the simultaneous elimination of the opposing military blocs in the interest of creating a Europe that cooperates to a greater degree and in the most extensive areas.

MTI Agency To Expand Services, Coverage

LD0604163189 Budapest MTI in English 1507 GMT 6 Apr 89

[Text] Budapest April 6 1989 (MTI-Econews)—The Hungarian news agency MTI, Hungary's largest information-gathering and distribution organization, is launching yet another new service in the second half of the year to satisfy the growing demand for specialized economic information.

MTI has contracts with more than 70 news and photo agencies worldwide and is the major distributor of news and photographs about Hungary to the rest of the world.

Deputy director general of MTI, Mr Laszlo Agoston, said in an interview carried by the Thursday [6 April] issue of the economic daily "VILAGGAZDASAG" that Hungary's opening up to the world mean new tasks for MTI.

In response to the growing demand for specialized news from Hungary, "MTI last year established a new English language service, Econews, in order to convey economic news to major national news agencies and other clients, through which economic news from Hungary reaches a multitude of traditional news agencies and professional data bases", Mr Agoston said.

In the second half of the year, MTI will launch Ecomon, a new information service, which will focus on company news for the domestic market, to enable domestic companies to retrieve domestic and worldwide economic news, news on securities, prices and the money market by using an up-to-date computerized display service.

MTI sells information abroad to the value of 30 million forints (USD 576,000) and buys 200 million forints' (USD 3.8 million) worth of information from abroad a year.

MTI receives no state subsidy and in 1988 it was reimbursed from the central budget to the tune of over 80 million forints (USD 1.5 million) for services rendered.

MTI has an annual turnover of 2 billion forints (USD 38.5 million).

In 1985, MTI's revenue was 524 million forints and its expenditure 481 million forints, but by 1988, these sums had grown to 922 million forints (USD 17.7 million) and 893.5 million forints (USD 17.1 million) respectively.

MTI has 25 news offices abroad, which cost about 100 million forints (USD 1.9 million) a year to maintain.

New Literary Monthly'2000' Launched

LD0704194589 Budapest MTI in English 1802 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Budapest, April 7 (MTI)—A new literary and social monthly is to come out on Monday in Hungary, entitled '2000'. The periodical, published by the 'HETI VILAGGAZDASAG' (WEEKLY WORLD ECONOMY) Corp, is initially to be printed in 15,000 copies, was presented to representatives of the press on Friday [7 April] in Budapest.

The periodical is to carry foreign literature and nonfiction. The editors said they welcome the opportunity to be the first to carry unpublished works of central and Eastern European authors.

Jaruzelski Comments on 'Historic' System Changes
LD0704165289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Today, the Sejm debated the bills introducing new institutions to the system: a Senate and a president, and new electoral regulations. Over the past few months we have had no shortage of breakthroughs. We went from one to the other. We should be glad that we are not alone in this movement.

[Unidentified correspondent] In the break in today's Sejm, we listened to the opinions of deputies on the reports presented by Sejm commissions on the new bills:

[Begin recording] [Question] Today's Sejm debate is exceptionally historic. It presages many changes in the system. What is your reaction, Mr Chairman of the State Council, to them?

[Jaruzelski] Many words have already been spoken on this subject: Historic, breakthrough, great. I share that view, with one reservation: There must be consistent implementation now. Only then will those words find full confirmation. I believe they will. [end recording]

Walesa on Results of Roundtable Talks
AU0704143789 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1100 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Interview with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa by Patrick Gerber; place, date not given—recorded; Walesa speaks in Polish with superimposed translation]

[Text] [Gerber] Are you satisfied with the outcome of the roundtable talks?

[Walesa] Of course I am satisfied. One must bear in mind, however, that these are only political-theoretical results. They must now be translated into practice. If we succeed in doing this, I will be very satisfied.

[Gerber] Where do you see the biggest problems in this connection?

[Walesa] I am afraid that we will not be able to manage by ourselves. We will have to ask neighbors and friends in Europe and the rest of the world to help us. What we need is not charity but sound cooperation in order to learn more about democracy and the economy.

[Gerber] What can the FRG do to help Poland?

[Walesa] We are starting to introduce pluralism. Laws on the reforms will be adopted, which means that we need direct cooperation at the enterprise level, not on the basis of central institutions but directly between enterprises.

[Gerber] When will Solidarity, the Rural Solidarity, and the Independent Students Association be legalized?

[Walesa] I think that this will happen in the very near future. The Sejm is holding a session today which must adopt the corresponding laws. Subsequently, we will immediately apply for legalization.

[Gerber] Will Solidarity run for seats in the Sejm and Senate in the June elections?

[Walesa] We want to be a trade union and do not want to engage in politics. Our members, however, can of course run as private individuals. We will provide every possible support for our people, but we will not run as an organization.

[Gerber] The conclusion of the roundtable talks was in danger until the very last minute because the official National Trade Union Federation was opposed to a regulation. Do you see problems in the future cooperation with the official trade unions?

[Walesa] What is important is that the talks have been concluded successfully. Compromises are always required in pluralism and freedom. This applies both to the East and West. In our country, the differences are particularly clear because we are only at the beginning.

Solidarity Representative on Roundtable Results
AU0704133189 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 7 Apr 89 p 2

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Gil by correspondent Aurelius M. Pedziwol in Warsaw; date not given: "The Roundtable Indicates the Renunciation of an Economic Doctrine"]

[Text] Mieczyslaw Gil (44) was press spokesman of the strikers in the Nowa Huta Lenin Steelworks near Krakow in August 1980. Afterwards he headed the Interfactory Founding Committee of Solidarity (MKZ) in Krakow. He was also a member of the National Coordinating Commission of the trade union (KKP), and was sentenced to 4 years' imprisonment for organizing the strike in the Lenin Steel Works. He participated in the roundtable economic committee talks.

DER STANDARD correspondent M. Pedziwol conducted the following interview with him.

DER STANDARD: How do you assess the results of the roundtable talks?

Gil: Most of the things that were expected could be achieved. It is the beginning of a process, both in the economy and in politics and trade union activities. At the same time, the roundtable indicates the renunciation of a doctrine that has to date been valid, particularly in the economic sector.

DER STANDARD: In what way have those problems been solved that threatened the success of the negotiations until the very end?

Gil: Both issues, the adjustment of salaries to inflation and the problem concerning the Senate, have been settled in a positive way. There is a danger of the official National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ] distancing itself from those nine points that regulate the adjustment of salaries to inflation. This may lead to dangerous events in enterprises because the OPZZ is now able to make high demands in order to attract new members.

DER STANDARD: When will one be able to speak about implementing the agreements?

Gil: Soon, I hope. The establishment of a commission to control and guarantee our treaty has been agreed upon.

Solidarity's Staniszewska Addresses Roundtable

AU1004140389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Apr 89 p 6

[Speech by Grazyna Staniszewska at the plenary session of the "roundtable" held at the Palace of the Council of Ministers in Warsaw on 5 April]

[Text] I was rather skeptical when I took my seat at the "roundtable." The difference between the participants appeared to be too great. Like my friends—who remained loyal to Solidarity, worked in the union's underground structures and on independent publications, and were sacked from their jobs and imprisoned—I wondered whether the authorities' intentions were sincere. Even now I find it difficult to answer this question. Nevertheless, I am convinced that there is no other course open to us, there is no alternative to compromise.

What other options are there? Violence?

Today, after 9 weeks of talks, I think that the people with whom we have been negotiating also realize this.

That is why I believe that the documents that we are signing today create an opportunity for Poles, for the people that I have tried to represent here.

I took part in the work of the economic team. Working together, we considered if and how the Polish economy can be saved, how the system that is destroying Poland can be changed. My task, as a member of Solidarity's leadership, was to protect working people from the burden imposed by the costs of the crisis. That is why we demanded guarantees that all wages would rise in relation to prices. So we called for indexation.

The solution that has been achieved is not the best—it cannot be, under present conditions. However, it is the best available solution. I am convinced that the National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ] is well aware of this. That is why I think that the OPZZ's opposition to the agreement that has been reached, one that was reached with difficulty, is a ploy calculated to defend its monopoly. It is designed to hoodwink the Polish worker into believing in demagogic shouting about equality and in the latest promises made by those who did not once behave like a genuine trade union over the last 7 years.

Even at the "roundtable," when Solidarity demanded that the entire costs of the crisis system should not be borne by working people, the OPZZ remained silent or left the hall. It also left the hall when we fought for the abolition of the nomenklatura and for an end to the ties between plant managements and party committees, the Security Service, and the administration. Instead, the OPZZ leadership has been putting forward an increasing number of absurd demands, seeking conflicts that create chaos and can, in effect, lead to a repetition of 13 December [date of imposition of martial law].

I am not saying this in order to create divisions among people. The great majority of OPZZ members are honest people. Besides, employees at all of Poland's plants know how to cooperate with one another very well. That was the case between August and December, and that will be the case now.

I appeal to "Solidarity" people: We have waited for 7 years. Our union is legal once again. We cannot waste time. We must organize the union.

Solidarity must be effective. It must be wiser than at any time in the past, so that people can at last live normally in Poland.

Walesa's Citizens Committee Holds Session

LD0804205989 Warsaw PAP in English 2007 GMT 8 Apr 89

[Text] Warsaw, April 8—Lech Walesa's Citizen's Committee held another meeting here today. The main goal of the debates was to discuss problems of the announced elections to the Sejm and the Senate. The committee voiced its readiness to assume patronage over the electoral campaign of the opposition-Solidarity candidates for Sejm deputies and senators, journalists were told after the meeting.

During a press conference organized after the meeting, Janusz Onyszkiewicz said that Solidarity would neither organize the elections by itself nor would it be one of the parties to them. But, in view of the situation in Poland, it asked Lech Walesa's Citizen's Committee to draw up a list of candidates from the Solidarity-opposition milieux and to deal with their electoral campaign.

Next, Onyszkiewicz said that Solidarity would draw up a collective list of candidates on the national scale on the basis of regional lists, to be presented by regional or voivodship citizen's committees set up especially for this purpose. Solidarity and Lech Walesa will give full support to the collective list.

Onyszkiewicz said that the committee voiced its concern over the fact that there were difficulties in registering the Independent Student Union and its indignation at the action of the law enforcement forces against two peaceful demonstrations in Lublin and Poznan.

Answering other questions, Onyszkiewicz said that although Solidarity would help the elections of candidates from the citizen's list very much, it did not plan to turn over subsidies to the electoral fund. It is possible that Solidarity will give a loan to the fund, he said.

Miodowicz Addresses Krakow Trade Unionists

LD0804191989 Warsaw PAP in English 1832 GMT 8 Apr 89

[Text] Krakow, April 8—Chairman of the OPZZ All-Poland Trade Union Alliance met with trade unionists from Krakow at the Lenin Steelworks here today.

Replying to questions put by the participants in the discussion, among them members of "Solidarity" in the Lenin steelworks, Miodowicz explained that the OPZZ favours lump sum indexation because it treats it as a price-hike enforced bonus, a necessary evil which should be eliminated at the turn of the first quarter of 1990. We speak in favour of common indexation because the crews of factories do not take the blame for inflation, the head of the OPZZ said.

Miodowicz stressed that the OPZZ, too, endorsed the introduction of a market economy but was aware that such an operation entails many threats which can be reduced by opportunities for greater initiative and higher wages.

Speaking about the difficult situation of pension and disability recepients, Miodowicz stated that the OPZZ demands that this problem be solved till the end of this year. A national meeting of pension and disability recepients is planned to take place in Warsaw on April 13.

Replying to questions about the preparations of trade unions for the upcoming elections to the Sejm and Senate, the OPZZ chairman stated that offensive trade union organizations must make sure to forward trustworthy candidates who will win broad social support.

New Trade Union Minister on Scope of Tasks

LD0904220689 Warsaw PAP in English
2108 GMT 9 Apr 89

[Text] Warsaw, April 9—In his interview for PAP today newly appointed Poland's Minister in Charge of Cooperation with the Trade Unions Jozef Oleksy said, among other things:

My tasks (as the minister - ed.) are to include briefing various unions on the current government policy, explaining premises for reaching concrete decisions and solutions. It is a justified and needed task as the unions may be not fully aware of the limitations of the economy and state while formulating their postulates. At the same time, I should not be some kind of a censor of unions' claims as it is not my task to devalue or avoid them, the minister stressed.

The union pluralism means in fact variety of views, at times on the same issues. If the trade unions take up various questions, dialogue can be led with particular organizations, continued Jozef Oleksy adding that when the situation arises that different postulates are formulated on the same problems, then the role of the minister for cooperation with trade unions becomes ever more substantial. He will have to hold negotiations which would constitute a basis for taking decisions and reaching final solutions.

The minister in charge of cooperation with the trade unions will constitute a valuable source of information for the government on the most important questions for the trade unions, added Oleksy.

I expect to hold numerous talks, to open contacts with union activists of various levels and trends as I must be well acquainted with discrepancies within the trade organizations. Aware of the details of the government policy, it will be my task to mediate conflicts having in view the good of the issues to be solved, elaborated the new minister.

Referring to the procedure for legalization and registration of new unions, Minister Oleksy recalled that it has been specified in the law on trade unions, recently amended by the Sejm. For instance, "Solidarity" can start work formally when a single authoritative legal act is passed. New unions are to be registered by courts, he continued, all-Poland trade organizations by the voivodship court in Warsaw.

It cannot be ruled out that beside "Solidarity" other trade union movements will be initated, added the minister.

Official Retail Price of Bread To Rise 10 April

LD0804203989 Warsaw PAP in English
1920 GMT 8 Apr 89

[Text] Warsaw, April 8—The official retail prices of breads will be raised as of April 10, the Finance Ministry says.

For example, the price of a loaf of normal bread weighing 0.8 kg will rise from 49 to 62 zlotys and the price of cottage bread weighing 0.8 kg will grow from 57 to 72 zlotys.

Gdansk 2 April Youth Demonstration 'Flops'

AU0704145289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 3 Apr 89 p 2

[Report signed "Wu-Zet": "Street Demonstration Flops"]

[Text] On 2 April in Gdansk, in the precincts of St Brygida's Church, those who try to spark off the illegal Sunday rallies in the streets of the city went to incredible lengths to get people who had been attending mass to take part in a demonstration. They had prepared megaphones and banners ("Confederation of an Independent Poland" and "Fighting Solidarity") and had distributed handbills and called on onlookers to strengthen their ranks. None of this produced any results.

Surprised by the lack of interest, the troublemakers burned two red flags in Rajska Street in their desperation and limitless stupidity. The red flags—red, that symbol of the workers struggle—burned as they were held by youngsters who, in all probability, had never done a day's work in their lives. This scandalous escapade met with the disapproval of those watching the event. Confused by their frenzied demonstrating, the young people abandoned any further attempts to set fire to the flags and ran off shamefaced.

After that, those taking part in the illegal demonstration roamed around the area off Rajska Street in the direction of the shipyard workers monument and the railway station shouting slogans and looking for opportunities to cause trouble. The lack of interest caused the group to melt away like the snow that had fallen on the coast that morning. The militia showed no interest in their rowdy march.

Young People, Miners Demonstrate in Gdansk

LD0904142689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 9 Apr 89

[Text] After a mass at the Church of Saint Bridget, a 200-plus group of young people attempted to organize a demonstration. They joined a group of miners from the Andaluzja mine, who had come to Gdanzk to hand Lech Walesa an invitation to participate in the pilgrimage to Piekary Slaskie.

Together they came up to the shipyard workers monument. The miners dispersed after laying flowers, and the youths, under the banner of Fighting Solidarity scattered leaflets and shouted slogans calling for a boycott of the elections, condemning the results of the roundtable deliberations and national accord. Among other things; they shouted: Communists out! And Walesa is a lump of fodder! The demonstrators came up to the voivodship party committee buildings where they were stopped by a small unit of militiamen, who did not intervene.

Unable to encourage the inhabitants of Gdansk to increase the demonstration, the participants dispersed.

Bialystok Farmers Continue Strike, Make Demands

LD0804113289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 8 Apr 89

[Recorded speakers not further identified]

[Excerpts] The farmers have been on strike for several days now in many parishes in the northeastern region. In Bialystok Voivodship, for instance, only half the milk was purchased yesterday. I paid a visit to Drohiczyn-on-the-Bug.

[Begin recording] [First farmer] The strike began on the 1st. We aren't giving milk, we aren't giving livestock for slaughter. We are simply giving nothing to the state. [passage omitted]

I announced to the public via the mass media that the strike demands of the farmers are:

To raise the price of a liter of milk to Z300, the fat content being 3.2 percent throughout the whole year. We don't care whether the price is a winter or summer one; the next demand, cut the prices of agricultural implements and machinery by 50 percent. Get the prices down. Maybe not raise the price for milk, but get the prices of machinery down, all of them. So that there's some sort of proportion; [passage omitted] a 50 percent reduction in the number of employees at parish and voivodship level [words indistinct]; an increase in the prices of grain and beef on the hoof, unfortunately by 100 percent [passage omitted].

If nobody comes to talk to us, nobody backs us up, nobody (?takes notice) of us at least...

[Second farmer] By Tuesday at the latest.

[First farmer] Let's say, by Tuesday; we will block the whole of Bialystok.

[Third farmer] We have (?fifty) tractors in the parish and they'll all go.

[Fourth farmer] Everybody will go; with our old, broken and twisted, worn-out implements, and we will take them to the Bialystok Voivodship Office for them to see.

[Fifth farmer] Maybe the Voivoda will deign to come out on to the balcony. [end recording]

We aren't surprised at the annoyance of the Bialystok farmers, but, after all, as was discussed and agreed at the roundtable, a market economy must be introduced by stages—it has to happen gradually, and that must take time.

Security Forces Prevent Group's News Conference

LD1004125489 Hamburg DPA in German 1201 GMT 10 Apr 89

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—In Warsaw on Monday, security officers of the Polish Interior Ministry prevented a news conference by the illegal national-oriented group the "Confederation for an Independent Poland" (KPN). The journalists who had gathered in the flat of KPN leader Leszek Muczulski were asked to leave the house. One officer explained the ban by saying that the group was illegal, and in contrast to the Solidarity trade union, had rejected the opportunity to declare itself a "constructive opposition," and attend the roundtable negotiations.

In the presence of the security officer Muczulski announced that his organization would put up candidates for the parliamentary elections in June. Should this be prevented it would be proof that those elections, too, were a fraud. He protested against the disbanding of the press conference, which was to have opened the KPN election campaign.

The KPN would like to put up about 100 candidates. According to an agreement at the roundtable between Solidarity and government, candidates of the opposition may apply for 161 seats (35 percent) in the Sejm and for the 100 seats in the senate.

'Arafat Arrives for Visit, Met by Jaruzelski

LD1004082989 Warsaw PAP in English 0813 GMT 10 Apr 89

[Text] Warsaw, April 10—Head of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization and President of the Palestinian State Yasir 'Arafat arrived here this morning for an official visit to Poland.

Yasir 'Arafat was welcomed at the Warsaw airport by Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Background to Visit Reviewed

LD0904180789 Warsaw PAP in English 1540 GMT 9 Apr 89

[Text] Warsaw, April 9—An official visit to this country by Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and President of the State of Palestine (elected on April 2), Yasir 'Arafat, to start on April 10, is a consequence of the policy conducted by Poland towards the Palestinian movement.

The visit is paid at the invitation from PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] First Secretary and Poland's President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski.

This is not the first visit by 'Arafat to Poland. He paid a visit to this country as the PLO head in 1974. His visit started a series of meetings held by PLO representatives in Poland after 1974.

The development of the Polish-Palestinian relations was marked in 1982 by changing the PLO permanent representation into an official diplomatic representation. The development of private contacts between Poles and Palestinians resulted in establishing the Polish-Palestinian Friendship Society.

'Arafat's present visit—the first one to Europe as president of the State of Palestine—will be paid in a new period for the Palestinian movement.

Poland welcomed with satisfaction the sovereign act of the Palestinian Parliament on proclaiming the State of Palestine, and declared her will to establish cooperation with state authorities when they have been appointed.

PLO General on Expectations of U.S. Dialogue

AU0604133389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Mar 89 p 6

[Interview with General 'Abd al-Razzaq al-Yahya, PLO Executive Committee member, by Zygmunt Slomkowski in Warsaw "last week": "What the Are Palestinians Hoping For?"]

[Excerpt] A green light has appeared in the Middle East tunnel. Its source is the support enjoyed by the platform worked out by the Palestinian National Council last year. Currently, the main opposition to these realistic proposals comes from Israel, which casts a shadow over prospects for resolving the conflict. Is that how one can briefly describe the current situation? I put this question to General 'Abd al-Razzaq al-Yahya, a member of the PLO Executive Committee, who was in Warsaw on an official visit last week.

[Al-Yahya] We have tried to go through a dark tunnel. What I am thinking of here is a situation in which trying to reach agreement with the Israeli side seemed to be something completely impossible. The Intifada—the Palestinian uprising—has shown that the entire Palestinian people wants peace and not just for itself, but for the whole region, including Israel.

At this point, there is a more general comment that I would like to make. Namely, we have not been teaching our people to build their future on bitterness over the injustices that they have suffered. However, the Israelis created their state on precisely this kind of feeling of bitterness. They constantly recall and publicize this, and it has now become part of their mentality and prompts them to commit barbaric acts. It is difficult to understand how Israel, which based its concept of the state on the memory of massacres and pogroms in Europe, can behave in the same way toward another people. We believe that the Israeli leadership is responsible for this, even only a part of it, whereas most of society wants to live in peace. That is why we say to them: Stop blowing up our homes, stop murdering, deporting, and imprisoning us—even children are being imprisoned. Stop doing this, because peace can only be built on coexistence. On the basis of these principles, we have established contacts with Israeli society. I have participated in them myself. We met with a favorable response. The meetings that we have had show that the Israeli participants reject the legal ban on contacts with the PLO. This shows that they want peace. This is why we say that there must be peace. We, the Palestinians, have formulated a realistic policy, and the changes that we have introduced are geared toward achieving peace.

[Slomkowski] But there is also the United States. What do you expect the dialogue that has been started in Tunis to produce

[Al-Yahya] In our opinion, America still does not understand the Palestinian people and the Palestinian revolution. It also has not correctly understood the new Palestinian moves aimed at achieving peace. The Americans only listened to one side, and as a result they have accumulated one-sided information under a slogan of strategic cooperation or common interests with Israel. I think that Americans are now beginning to understand what the Palestinian issue is about. There has been a certain positive evolution in relation to the past, but it is still far from adequate. Certain differences have now emerged between the American understanding of the Palestinian problem, of the Middle East problem in general, and Israel's approach. The Americans have already sensed that what the Palestinians are doing is something important and not just some tactical move. Some American statements indicate that a course is taking shape that will enable the United States to play a very positive role in the Palestinian question. That is why we attach great importance to talks with the United States. [passage omitted]

Jaruzelski, Rakowski Meet Envoy to Hungary

LD0804135689 Warsaw PAP in English
1312 GMT 8 Apr 89

[Text] Warsaw, April 7—President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski received today Poland's Ambassador to the Hungarian People's Republic Tadeusz Czechowicz.

Czechowicz was received today also by chairman of the Council of Ministers Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

Jaruzelski Meets Spanish Socialist Official

LD0504224489 Warsaw PAP in English
2252 GMT 5 Apr 89

[Text] Warsaw, April 5—PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski received an official delegation of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party PSOE now in Poland at the invitation of the PUWP.

The delegation is headed by Secretary for International Affairs Elena Flores Valencia. During talks held earlier on, the delegation discussed with Polish party officials the current international situation, issues of peace and disarmament, cooperation and European security and was briefed on the socio-economic and political situation in Poland. Issues of inter-party cooperation between the PUWP and the PSOE were also touched upon.

Rakowski Meets FRG Official Teltschik for Talks

LD0704221489 Warsaw PAP in English
2133 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Warsaw, April 7—Horst Teltschik, the plenipotentiary of the FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, held here on April 6-7 another round of talks with Ernest Kucza, the plenipotentiary of Poland's Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski. The talks focused on reviewing Polish-West German relations and their prospects.

At the end of his stay, Teltschik was received by Poland's premier.

FRG's Warnke Holds Transport Cooperation Talks

LD3003163189 Hamburg DPA in German
1141 GMT 30 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Federal Transport Minister Juergen Warnke (CSU) today in Warsaw met 3 Polish opposition members and 5 Germans living in Poland from Upper Silesia. Warnke, who has been in Poland since Tuesday, in talks with his Polish counterpart Janusz Kaminski, particularly wants to sound out possibilities for expanding transport links. He told journalists that they were thinking, among other things, of modernizing the Warsaw-Berlin-Hannover rail link, with the continuation of East-West express train links to Moscow and Paris.

In order to make this section more attractive, there is a need for modern and comfortable railroad cars. Toward this end, the Poles proposed the foundation of a joint enterprise in Wroclaw which could, for example, modernize or take over the Pafawag railroad car factory, which was threatened with bankruptcy. Poland was also interested in a container link via Vladivostok to Western Europe using special railroad cars from Japan.

In the center of the political discussions which Warnke is holding alongside the technical discussions in Warsaw, is the possibility of a visit from Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Warnke met, among others, Jozef Czyrek, secretary of the Central Committee. Warnke reported that the Poles consider the Federal Republic an important partner. They are very interested in loans, and "hold the Federal Republic's efficiency in high esteem."

The federal transport minister also visited Krakow, where he met Archbishop Cardinal Franciszek Macharski. He laid flowers at the Wall of Death in the former concentration camp at Auschwitz and at the tomb of an unknown German Soldier in Warsaw. He also visited the grave of Jerzy Popieluszko, the priest who was murdered by secret service officials.

Czyrek Receives Bulgarian Official Dimitrov

LD0704221989 Warsaw PAP in English
2130 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Warsaw, April 7—Presidium member of the Central Committee [CC] of the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union, member of Bulgaria's Council of State Angel Dimitrov, staying in this country at the invitation of the Central Committee of the United Peasant's Party (UPP), was received today by the chairman of the UPP, Sejm (parliament) Speaker Roman Malinowski.

Also today, Dimitrov met with Political Bureau member, Polish United Workers Party Central Committee [PUMP CC] Secretary Jozef Czyrek.

Dimitrov held talks also with UPP presidium member, CC Secretary Bogdan Krolewski.

Commentary Views Gorbachev's Visit to Cuba

AU0704144889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
5 Apr 89 p 7

[Commentary by Zdislaw Antos, permanent correspondent in Havana: "The Fruits of 30 Years"]

[Text] Havana—Many warm words addressed to the Soviet Union have been accompanying Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Cuba—words of gratitude for the great assistance that has been rendered for almost 30 years in very many cultural and economic areas. The media have been carrying interviews with representatives of various ministries who embody the contribution made by Soviet assistance.

At the same time, the visit shows that the aid has not been wasted. On the contrary, it has fallen on productive and fertile soil. The Soviet leader visited a new residential area, a health center, and the Center for Engineering and Biotechnology, which has important achievements on the part of Cuban scientists to its credit.

These achievements are in a sense the feedback from the Soviet aid that has accompanied Cuba's existence for almost 30 years.

The signing of the treaty on friendship and cooperation became a celebratory affirmation of the close, friendly relations that exist between Cuba and the Soviet Union.

Gen Siwicki Attends National Defense Meeting

LD0904105289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 9 Apr 89

[Text] There was a meeting on 5 April between the military members of the central party authorities and the first secretaries of basic party organizations of the Ministry of National Defense central institutes. Army General Florian Siwicki, member of the Politburo of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee and minister of national defense, and General Tadeusz Szacilo, member of the Central Committee and head of the Main Political Board of the Polish Army, participated in the meeting.

Association Head on War Compensation Claims

AU0704144789 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 3 Apr 89 p 3

[Interview with Tadeusz Szadowski, chairman of the main board of the Association of Polish Victims of the Third Reich, by Ryszard Choroszy; date, place not given: "No Statutory Limitations on Compensation Claims"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Choroszy] Who can become a member of the association of Polish Victims of the Third Reich?

[Szadowski] According to the statute, the association groups together persons who were made to work under the forced labor policy, persons who suffered material losses or damage, all persons who were imprisoned and persecuted by the apparatus of the Third Reich, as well as heirs of a deceased person entitled to compensation. Currently, the association has about 700,000 members. It is estimated that this number might rise to about 1.8 million once the registration of members is completed.

[Choroszy] The association's goals and tasks cannot be realized without cooperation and coordination with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

[Szadowski] That is true. We need the assistance of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to raise the problem of compensation at international forums: The United Nations, the International Labor Organization, the International Court of Justice, and the International Red Cross. Polish diplomats have continually raised the question of claims under civil law at, for example, the great powers conference of vice ministers of foreign affairs in 1947, the United Nations, and within the bilateral relations with the FRG, as soon as they were established. The lack of results from the actions that have been taken thus far, makes it imperative that the association adopt a more varied approach to formulating demands addressed to the FRG authorities as well as to the authorities of the Polish People's Republic [PPR].

[Choroszy] But will your planned course of action not clash with present PPR foreign policy needs?

[Szadowski] This is a very important question for us that will determine the further existence of our association and its character. That is why we recently asked our government to provide answers to this and several other questions. We also suggested that association representatives take part in preparations concerning the question of compensation for the upcoming summit level talks with the FRG. We are hoping that our association will receive technical and financial assistance. [passage omitted]

[Choroszy] Do you plan to establish links with social and political forces in the FRG that support a just settlement of the compensation question?

[Szadowski] Of course, although there are not that many of them and they do not wield a great deal of political influence, there are groups, organizations, and prominent individuals in the FRG who believe that it is necessary to make amends for the injustices suffered by Polish citizens. This is particularly true of the "Greens," the Augsburg Evangelical Church, youth and antifascist organizations, and employee councils at some factories and plants. The existence of these forces can provide important support and put pressure on government officials, which may influence Bonn's decisions.

[Choroszy] Did any differences of opinion emerge during exchanges of views on Polish compensation claims?

[Szadkowski] The setting up of charitable foundations and sending the persons concerned to their former "employers" were strongly advocated. If we were to accept these ideas, we would close off a path for hundreds of thousands of Poles who are seeking compensation. This would be convenient for the FRG authorities, and would "wash away" a problem that has not been settled 43 years after the end of World War II. [passage omitted]

Home Army Soldiers Union Registered in Krakow

LD1004110189 Warsaw PAP in English 1007 GMT 10 Apr 89

[Text] Krakow, April 10—A union of the home army soldiers has been registered in Krakow, with its activity to cover the whole of Poland.

The Krakow-based organization will help establish and tighten ties among former soldiers of the home army, both those living in Poland and abroad, and develop cooperation with Polish and foreign bodies affiliating ex-fighters against Nazism.

Exhibit of 'Unique' Documents on Katyn Planned
LD0704102889 Warsaw PAP in English
0915 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Warsaw, April 7—The State Museum of the History of Photography has a unique documentation of the Katyn crime, TRYBUNA LUDU reported today referring to information by the museum's director Wladyslaw Klimczak.

The collection includes letters, photographs and other documents belonging to Krakow's established families akin to Lieutenant Pawel Mussil who was killed in Katyn.

The documents, deposited with the museum for safekeeping in 1975, have been registered and will be presented at an exhibition "Killed in Katyn," the paper said.

Krakow Memorial Plaque to Katyn Victims Unveiled
LD0904175789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 9 Apr 89

[Text] A memorial plaque to the victims of Katyn, Polish prisoners of the camps in Kozelsk, Ostashkov and Starobelsk, has been unveiled in the cloisters of the Carmelite Monastery in Piasek, in Krakow. The unveiling was preceded by a mass for the murdered, celebrated by Bishop Stanislaw Smolenski.

Polish Diplomat on Foreign Economic Participation
AU0804170789 Hamburg BILD in German
8 Apr 89 p 9

[Peter Brinkmann report: "The Poles Need Western Money"]

[Excerpts] Hanover—According to the December 1988 law, foreigners, including expellees, are now permitted to participate as "partners" in industrial, construction, agricultural, and commercial enterprises. Bogdan Milaczewski [commercial counselor of the Polish Embassy in Bonn] stated: "Every private person can participate; however, he has to establish a pro forma company. Parts of or all of the Polish firm or the Polish farm can be taken over. However, the Polish cooperative to which the land now belongs has to agree to this."

Farms of 300 hectares and above will be leased for 10 years, for the time being. A German farmer has to provide a security of DM50,000. He can either live in Poland or enter and leave the country as often as he wants. The Polish diplomat said: "First we made the law. Details and its interpretation remain to be defined." [passage omitted]

Egon Susset, agrarian spokesman of the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union Group in Bonn calls the new law: "An interesting idea. However, the export of the products to the FRG should not be permitted."

Rakowski Visits Zamosc Voivodship
LD0704024789 Warsaw PAP in English
0243 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Warsaw, April 6—Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski visited the Zamosc voivodship. His visit primarily to the countryside was a real surprise both for local residents and authorities.

In the afternoon, Rakowski visited a 15-hectare farm of PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] Member Hanna Pilat and her husband Jan at the village of Romanowo in the Izbica rural community.

Referring to a strike of farmers consisting in not supplying milk to centres purchasing dairy products now under way in Romanowo and other localities of the Zamosc region, Hanna Pilat said in a talk with the premier that almost everybody was already tired with this form of protest. It is particularly a farmer who loses, also financially, by this.

This government is aware of the difficulties in supplying the countryside with agricultural equipment and fertilizers, Rakowski said.

Attempts are made to put the economy on a sound footing but, unfortunately, one has to pay for this with periodical life difficulties.

We have long-range plans as regards agriculture and, personally, I believe they will succeed but not everything can be settled immediately, the premier added.

Communique on 7 April PEC Meeting

AU0804130789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0917 GMT 8 Apr 89

["Meeting of the CC of the RCP Executive Political Committee"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 8/4/1989—The Romanian leading newspapers of 8 April carry the communique of the 7 April meeting of the Executive Political Committee [PEC] of the Central Committee [CC] of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP]. We reproduce below the text of the communique:

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, chaired a meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP on Friday, 7 April.

The materials to be submitted for debate to the forthcoming plenary meeting of the party's Central Committee, the proceedings of which will be held on 13 and 14 April, were examined during the meeting.

On the first item on the agenda, the Executive Political Committee analysed and approved measures for the preparation of the Fourteenth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party. A proposal was made for the congress to be held in the second half of November 1989. Furthermore, a proposal was made for the creation of four commissions to secure the organization of the congress, the elaboration of the theses and of the programme and guidelines for economic and social development in the five-year plan period spanning 1991-1995, as well as the examination of questions related to party cadres. The measures for the preparation of the congress and the composition of the commissions will be approved by the plenary meeting of the RCP Central Committee.

Next, the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP examined and approved a report on the organizational, ideological and political-educative activity party bodies and organizations carried out in 1988, their work of selecting, distributing and promoting the staff, of handling the working people's letters and intimations as well as the party's international activity to implement the thirteenth party congress and national conference resolutions.

The Executive Political Committee assessed the results obtained in the above-mentioned domains and requested that further firm action be taken for the strengthening of the party and its growing leading role in all sectors, for the improvement of the work of training and promoting the personnel, for a better organizational, ideological and political-educative work, for a scientific and dialectical-materialist education and improved activity of moulding the new-type man with a high patriotic and revolutionary consciousness and a highly militant spirit. It was stressed that the RCP programme of building the multilaterally developed socialist society and Romania's advance to communism, the ideological programme, the theses and orientations contained in the party general secretary's exposition at the November 1988 great democratic forum of revolutionary worker democracy should underlie the whole instructional-educative process. The need was stressed to use all the means of instructing and educating the working people to the end thoroughly knowing and espousing the party policy which creatively applies scientific socialism to the specific conditions in our country. It was also demanded that highly responsible action be taken for the resolution of the problems raised by working people in their letters, hearings and on other occasions, an expression of the profound democratism characteristic of our socialist system.

Referring to the Romanian party and state's intense international activity in 1988, to the actions and initiatives taken by the party general secretary, president of the Republic, Nicolae Ceausescu, the Executive Political Committee reiterated Romania's determination to actively militate in future, too, alongside the peace-loving and progressive forces everywhere for the achievement of disarmament, of nuclear disarmament first and foremost, for the peaceful, negotiated settlement of interstate litigious issues, the liquidation of underdevelopment and the building of a new world economic order, for the establishment of a lasting climate of detente, security, understanding and broad collaboration in the world, in which all nations can concentrate their creative efforts toward free, independent development, on the path of economic and social progress.

The Executive Political Committee also examined and approved a report on the measures taken in physical planning, the organization and modernization of settlements, optimization of transport, communications and electricity networks.

It was stressed that those measures were part of the vast programme, of a revolutionary character, worked out and substantiated after the Ninth RCP Congress upon Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's initiative and with his decisive contribution, which provides for the unflinching implementation of the party policy of rational distribution of the forces of production throughout the country's territory, of harmonious, balanced development of all zones and urban and rural settlements, on the basis of the modern and long-range-perspective principles of physical and settlement planning, self-management, self-administration and self-financing, to the end of continuously improving the quality of the life and work of the homeland's citizens.

The important achievements scored in the over 21 years since the endorsement of the law No. 2/1968 regarding the administrative organization of the country's territory strongly prove the correctness of the measures set which led to the economic and social growth as well as to the continuous flowering of all of the homeland's counties and settlements, to a rise in the general welfare of all people.

Starting from the deep-going renewing transformations occurred in the life of all settlements, from the requirements of Romania's further development, of the building of the new system, just as from the decisions of the people's councils adopted during their January sessions, the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP proposed that further improvements should be made in line with the law of the administrative and territorial organization of the country, improvements which should reflect realities in present-day Romania. In this respect, it was agreed that in the five-year plan period spanning 1991-1995 programmes should be worked out for the economic and social development of all communes, towns and counties, as an integrant part of the general programme for the development of the country, so that they may all become strong economic and social centres, boasting every necessary facility and providing ever better living, working and learning conditions, as well as proper medicare and cultural and educational facilities. These programmes will be broadly debated with masses of citizens within revolutionary worker democracy bodies and approved during citizens' meetings and the people's councils sessions.

The Executive Political Committee assessed that with the amendments proposed—to be submitted for debate and approval to the plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP and to the session of the Grand National Assembly—as a basis, the process of bringing the working and living conditions in towns and villages closer to one another would get more marked and a rise in the standard of living, materially and spiritually, and in the level of civilization of all people would be ensured, the major target of the party programme of building the multilaterally developed socialist society and Romania's advance to communism being thus attained.

Next, the Executive Political Committee analysed and approved a report on the writing-off and re-scheduling of producer cooperative farms' debts.

It was stressed that those measures, based on the proposals of the party general secretary, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, were a great support to the producer cooperative farms and inter-cooperative economic associations, and reflected the attention and concern of our party and state to develop agriculture, to assist the cooperative farmers' efforts towards turning out ever larger farm, plant and animal productions, thus securing a better supply of the population with farm produce and meeting all the requirements of the national economy. It was emphasized that that substantial support should powerfully stimulate the producer cooperative farms, all farming units to work more firmly to get stronger from an economic and organizational point of view as well as more profitable.

By the end of this year, all the producer cooperative farms must work without losses and turn profitable.

The redemption was proposed of the debts resulted from the production and investment credits contracted till the end of 1981 as well as the total or partial wiping-off of the same kind of debts contracted over 1 January-1982-31 December 1985. Debts are to be cancelled differentially, integrally for some producer cooperative farms, and partially, between 20 and 50 per cent, for others, function of the respective units' economic and financial situation with no interest to be collected on the wiped-off debts.

It was also decided that part of the debts contracted over 1982-1985 shall be re-scheduled till 1995.

The Executive Political Committee urged the Ministry of Agriculture, the National Union of Producer Cooperative Farms, the county party committees, the county agricultural bodies, all farming cooperatives to take firm steps to most efficiently use the land, the technical and material base, all the existing resources, to continuously increase plant and animal output, exemplarily fulfill plan provisions and unabatedly attain the targets of the new agrarian revolution.

Next, the Executive Political Committee examined a report on the application in 1988 of the law regarding control over the origin of assets illicitly acquired by physical persons.

The data supplied show that last year the state organisms and the revolutionary worker democracy bodies took more intense action to prevent the infringement of legal norms, a fact reflected in the lower number of violations detrimental to public wealth. Likewise, the need was underscored to further intensify the educative work, to create a mass opinion in combating any tendency of acquiring assets without work, any manifestation detrimental to public wealth, of getting rich without work, of parasitism.

The central commission for guiding and supervising the application of the law No. 18 was asked to analyse the situation in this domain and take operative measures to hold responsible all those guilty of theft from the wealth of society. Likewise, the ministries, the central bodies with responsibilities in this area, the county guidance and supervision commissions were recommended to most exigently and firmly ensure the strict observance of legality, of socialist ethics and equity, the development and safeguarding of all people's property.

The Executive Political Committee also solved routine questions of the party and state activity.

Arms, Military Spending Reductions Advocated

AU0804164789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1524 GMT 8 Apr 89

["Romania—An Active Promoter of Conventional Weapon Cuts"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 08/04/1989—Romania has been underscoring that the universal desideratum of peace cannot become a reality as long as, concomitantly

with the spiralling nuclear and chemical arms race, conventional weapons, which have become so dangerous, following uninterrupted improvements, account for a substantial part of the means of destruction that seriously threaten mankind, getting closer from this point of view to the nuclear and chemical weapons. These are the considerations on the basis of which Romania pleads for the concomitant elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons to be paralleled by a substantial cut in conventional weapons, more particularly in Europe, and obviously, by an appropriate reduction of the matching troops and military spending.

In keeping with this principled stand, as early as 1986 Romania unilaterally reduced its arms and troops by five per cent and its military spending by actually ten per cent.

Romania is for an at least 50-per cent cut in conventional weapons and military spending by the end of this century and for the utilization of the means thus released for the progress of all states, materializing thus the direct relationship between disarmament and development, permanently stressed by Romania.

Likewise, Romania consistently works for the as soon as possible beginning of negotiations between the Warsaw Treaty participation of the other European states as well, on the 20-per cent reduction of conventional arms in Europe in the ensuing years, and an at least 50 per cent cut until the year 2000. [sentence as received]

Besides the achievement of these troops, arms and military spending reduction measures, Romania considers as highly important the setting of measures meant to build up confidence among states which, in their turn, should bear favourably on the disarmament process. Thus, among the confidence-building measures of great importance would be tangible steps pursuing the dismantlement of all military bases in the territory of other states and the withdrawal of foreign troops to within the limits of national territory. Romania is also of the opinion that all states should firmly pledge not to locate new troops and arms in the territory of other states. Romania has militated for the renunciation of shows of force, wide-scope military manoeuvres, more particularly the multinational ones and those close to the frontiers of other states or in international waters. Another important idea is the creation of zones of security along national frontiers, maritime frontiers included, with no manoeuvres, dislodgements and concentrations of armed forces or other military activities that can generate mistrust and insecurity.

In Romania's opinion, the actions aiming at surmounting Europe's division into opposed military blocs and, more particularly, the simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty are of utmost importance.

In Romania's opinion, too, the reduction and freezing of military budgets are basic elements in halting the arms race and beginning negotiations on disarmament, in alleviating the ever heavier burden of military spending from the peoples' shoulders. That is why Romania has been very active along this line. In the spirit of the proposals it advanced several times, at the 1979 session of the UN General Assembly, Romania initiated, together with other states, a resolution on the freezing and reduction of military budgets, which calls on all states, especially the best-armed ones, to show self-restraint in military expenditure, and requests the UN Commission for Disarmament to examine the ways and means of concluding international accords in the area. Upon Romania's proposal, the commission passed on to identifying the principles guiding the states in their efforts toward cutting military spending. Within the Warsaw Treaty, Romania also initiated the elaboration of specific proposals regarding military budgets.

Considering that the UN will not be able to fulfil its historic mission if it does not ensure the halting of the arms race and the adoption of real disarmament measures, over the years Romania has consistently advanced numerous concrete proposals for its growing role in disarmament. Last year, the considerations and proposals of Romania and of President Nicolae Ceausescu on disarmament and the countries' directions of action to solve them were tabled at the United Nations. The document contains several specific proposals apt to contribute to stopping the arms race and passing to disarmament, nuclear in the first place.

Kosovo Curfew Relaxed Beginning 9 April
LD0804173389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1524 GMT 8 Apr 89

[Text] Pristina, 8 Apr (TANJUG)—Jusuf Karakusi, the provincial secretary for internal affiars of Kosovo, issued an order today whereby the present ban on the movement of citizens, beginning at 2000, is reduced to last from 2230 to 0500 of the next day. This change becomes effective 9 April.

It was stated that in the process of making this decision, the fact had been considered that this change would create more favorable conditions for the processes of production, traffic, and education, particularly in light of the fact that on Monday, 10 April, primary schools and universities will be be open again. This will enable students to commute with less difficulties between their homes and schools.

At the same time, the provincial secretary, warns citizens and working people that the rest of the measures envisioned by the ban on movement and the access of individuals to public places and to certain areas is still in force, including the ban on gathering in public places; on sports, cultural, and other events; on market days; and on the convening of public meetings, unless they are organized by sociopolitical organizations.

Citizens are obligated to respect the official measures; otherwise, the competent individuals of the organs of internal affairs will undertake legal measures, the statement by the Provincial Secretariat of Internal Affairs of Kosovo warns.

Kosovo Residents Await School's Resumption
LD0904175989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1528 GMT 9 Apr 89

[Excerpts] Pristina, 9 April (TANJUG)—It is quiet in Kosovo this Sunday, and fewer members of security organs are seen in the streets. The 2 and ½ hour shift in the curfew will certainly make it possible for Kosovo residents to go for their customary walk tonight. [passage omitted]

Parents are awaiting with trepidation tomorrow's resumption of lessons for pupils and students. This is when the secondary school pupils, who were the most numerous and strident during the recent demonstrations, will be in the schoolrooms. "A good start of the lessons tomorrow will be an important factor in the stabilization in Kosovo and in the country," says the daily RILINDJA in Albanian in an article headlined, "Good Luck." The paper also expresses the conviction that the Kosovo youth will avoid "any destabilizing provocation."

Many people who know the Kosovo situation well say that the situation is, after all, stabilizing, but say there will be no lasting peace unless there is a thorough ideo-political and work differentiation in all environments.

Gracanin Visits Kosovo, Concerned Over Bloodshed
LD0704195189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1800 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Pristina, April 7 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Minister of Interior Petar Gracanin who visited Kosovo today, stated the concern over the fact that recently blood was spilled in the autonomous province. He stressed, however, that in spite of this, ethnic Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins and all other nations and nationalities must continue to live together there.

Gracanin said that the brotherhood and unity, which have been seriously affected here, in these parts represent one of the preconditions for a successful development.

It was stated that Gracanin today had talks with the highest officials in the interior affairs service in Kosovo on the security situation in the province. Even though in the last eight days (the curfew was introduced on March 27) no serious incidents occurred, it was assessed that the security situation continues serious. Province Secretary of Interior Jusuf Karakusi informed Gracanin that Albanian nationalists and separatists are now acting less openly, maintaining tension and preparing new hostile acts.

It is also stated in the announcement that the special measures introduced by the Yugoslav State Presidency in Kosovo in late February were showing results, which was reflected in an atmosphere of citizens' greater security.

Gracanin said the internal affairs organs had so far successfully performed their duties in implementing the special measures in Kosovo.

Gracanin had talks with Kosovo's acting president Bajram Seljani and commander of the Army Forces in Kosovo Gen. Andrija Silic.

Gracanin also visited Urosevac.

Kosovo's Sekulic Defends Special Measures
LD0904132989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1239 GMT 9 Apr 89

[Text] Pristina, April 9 (TANJUG)—A high-ranking party official from Yugoslavia's Kosovo province has said that a failure to impose special measures in the province would have given legitimacy to an open opposition to party policy and enabled further attacks by ethnic Albanian separatists on the integrity and constitutional order of Yugoslavia.

Special measures were introduced in Kosovo, long an arena of ethnic Albanian separatist activities, on February 27.

Tomislav Sekulic, secretary of the Kosovo party committee, told TANJUG that the events in the province during the last five months—demonstrations in November, strikes in February and armed clashes between demonstrators and police in March—have borne out a vigorous politicisation of the masses and a homogenisation of the majority ethnic Albanian population around a platform which had not yet been fully clarified.

The collusion between political bureaucrats and technocrats on the one hand and the separatists on the other has succeeded in manipulating the working class and especially its traditionally most revolutionary segment, the miners, Sekulic said.

Sekulic blames this state of affairs on the hesitation and deliberate temporising on part of the provincial political leadership to take a clear stand on the situation in Kosovo.

This vacillation, explained away by the need to remove the black sheep from the ranks, encouraged the separatists and put the provincial party and political institutions on the defensive, says Sekulic.

Sekulic says that the situation in the province is also a result of different positions on the Kosovo problem in various parts of Yugoslavia over a long period.

In support of the amendments to the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, which on March 28 recovered its basic state functions in both its autonomous provinces—Vojvodina in the North and Kosovo in the South—after full 15 years, Sekulic said that the share of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo's population has dropped to less than 10 per cent.

Continuation of this trend would lead to an ethnically pure Kosovo, which is one of the immediate objectives of the separatists bent on wresting the province from Yugoslavia and annexing it to neighbouring Albania, Sekulic said.

One of the ways to prevent a total Albanisation of Kosovo is to give Serbia more room to exercise its fundamental state functions in the province, Sekulic said.

Direct political work with the masses, in Sekulic's view, is the first condition for overcoming the crisis. Those ethnic Albanians who have been led astray must realise that they have been manipulated by people who have been portraying themselves as their guardians, Sekulic said.

Sekulic said that responsibility for the March casualties in Kosovo, 24 dead including two policemen in clashes between demonstrators and police, rests chiefly with the greater-Albania separatists. But they are also due to a longstanding anaemic and extremely opportunistic policy on the part of the provincial leadership and a never-completed differentiation between cadres who are willing to fight separatism and those who are not, Sekulic said.

Sekulic pointed out that Kosovo's ethnic Albanians with patriotic feelings for Yugoslavia will have to bear the main burden of stabilisation in the province. He recalled that they have often been persecuted and even banished from political life as "betrayers of national interests", and called for opposing tendencies to equate all ethnic Albanians in Yugoslavia with separatists.

Our task is to create an atmosphere in which people will be able to talk freely, without fear of being labelled and disqualified, Sekulic said. Ethnic Albanian separatists have been dealt a blow and the winners will be all progressive, well-meaning people who care about peace, the future and a strong Yugoslavia, he said.

'Hostile' Leaflet in Zur Calls for Violence

AU0704184889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Apr 89 p 3

[M. Antic report: "Hatred From Desperation"]

[Text] Pristina, 4 Apr—A hostile leaflet appeared this morning, attached to a wire outside the cultural hall in the village of Zur, which, to judge by everything, is the work of the same people who initiated armed, bloody action against the members of the militia station on 28 March.

The actual content of this leaflet reveals everything, as it openly speaks about what is happening in the village and what sort of drama is being played out there.

The leaflet is written with a ballpoint pen on an A-4 size sheet of paper. It begins and ends with the words, "death to fascism" and "freedom to the people." It was not signed by any hostile organization or group.

It contains the following:

Zur did not shoot at the militia;
28 March should be a day of mourning in Zur;
Rustem should not be the commander of the militia station;
Do not send your children to school until the teachers ,Imer Kurtaj, Fadilj Elekurtaj, Mid Omaj, Ali Ademaj, Riza Begaj, and Naim Hodzaj leave;
Do not allow teachers of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality to come to school;
Do not speak to suspicious people, do not go to meetings with leaders until the last of our comrades leaves the hospital;

Break the cameras of journalists from Serbia and hit the journalists with sticks;
Throw Sait Begaj, Izer Ademaj, Fadilj Elekurtaj, Dalip's son, Mid Omaj, and Imer Kurtaj out of the village;
Kill Rizan Begaj and Ali Belegu Ademaj;
Burn down the house of the commander of the militia station, Rustem, and the property of Fadilj E, Sait B, and Semi B.

The Separatists Want a Showdown

As can be seen, the leaflet is its own kind of picture and representation of all that is happening in this Prizren village in which, because of resistance such as this, activists have been unable to establish dialogue with the inhabitants. It can be clearly seen that there is strong and organized resistance in the village to progressive and Yugoslav-oriented forces.

The leaflet wants to show with all its might that the other side is completely evil; this is obviously not true. By expressing their hatred, the writers of the leaflet are admitting that there are people in the village who do not want to be with them, and who, as they say, should be killed, thrown out of the village, and should have their property burned down. Those people in the village who are Yugoslav-oriented are in great danger. Albanian nationalists and separatists want a showdown with them and are trying to compromise them by spreading lies among the other inhabitants.

Precisely because of this danger and the recognition that the village is unfortunately still being controlled by nationalist and separatist forces who are sowing fear and terror among the inhabitants, everything should be done to uncover the leaders and to free innocent Albanians from the repression under which they are living.

Otherwise, the rest of the leaflet speaks for itself. It is obvious from the first sentence, in which they claim that they did not shoot at militiamen, how impudent they are in telling lies. They say this, but the whole village was witness to the quite different picture of an armed attack on militiamen and the demolition of the militia station and official vehicles.

They Do Not Choose Their Weapons and Victims

The leaflet, which is obviously the work of a well-organized center of Albanian nationalists and separatists, was planted in a calculated way. It has not been established who in the village has received it. Its aim is to warn all those who have in any way realized that Albanian nationalists and separatists have brought great harm to the village not to begin, under any circumstances, to cooperate and operate within the legal sociopolitical structure. Therefore, the names of a number of "traitors" have been cited and punishment has been handed down to them without trial. Enemies, blinded Albanian nationalists and separatists, are allowing themselves to do this before the entire Yugoslav and world public, and they are invoking alleged imperilment, democracy, and so on.

In their desperation, as they realize that most ethnic Albanians are becoming conscious of the dangers to which the nationalists have subjected them through the introduction of this year's bloody Kosovo spring, they are not choosing their ways, means, weapons, or victims. Now, all those Albanians who are ready to oppose their senselessness and nationalist blindness are their victims.

Precisely because of this, above all, everything should be done so that the proponents of such dirty hostile deeds are brought to justice as soon as possible, and everyone in Kosovo—and that means the vast majority of Albanians—can finally heave a sigh of relief.

Serbian, Montengrin Teachers Barred From Zur

LD1004134189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1221 GMT 10 Apr 89

[Text] Prizren, 10 Apr (TANJUG)—About 37,000 primary school pupils in Prizren Municipality returned to their daily school duties today after a 2-week break. Teachers there dedicated the first 2 hours to explaining the Kosovo situation to the pupils, especially the latest demonstrations of the Albanian separatists, who actually use children for their obscure nationalist aims. However, six teachers of Serbian or Montenegrin nationality who teach Serbo-Croatian to Albanians in the Boro and Ramiz primary school in the village Zur are not being allowed to work The Albanian separatists are not permitting them access to the village. Since 1981 we have been exposed to various maltreatments, even physical assaults, the teachers say, but now things have gone too far. The Prizren League of Communists Municipal Committee was informed about this, but no one can guarantee security for these tachers.

Let us recall that in Zur, the largest exclusively Albanian community in Prizren Municipality, about 500 demonstrators fought fiercely with security organs on 28 March, even using firearms.

Organization Members Sentenced in Pristina

AU0704193289 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Sentences were passed today at the Pristina District Court against members of the illegal and hostile organization known as the Kosovo Marxist-Leninists. Nexhat Maliqi and Hajredin Hyseni were sentenced to 5 years imprisonment; Hysen Jashari and Bajram Hajrizi were sentenced to 3 and ½ years; while Fidain Gashi, Fahri Zedinca, Nazir Beka, and Nazir Hajrizi received 3 years each; Fikrije Musa was sentenced to 1 and ½ years' imprisonment; and Skender Murati to 1 year of imprisonment. The adolescent R. T. was sent to a remand home for 1 year.

The court took into consideration, as a mitigating factor, that the defendants were minors during the period when they carried out their activity, and that they were not the founders of this hostile group. The trial showed that the accused had committed themselves to a republic of Kosovo. Most of the accused pleaded guilty to this accusation.

Socialist Alliance Observes Kosovo Activity
LD0904213189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1926 GMT 9 Apr 89

[Text] Pristina, 9 Apr (TANJUG)—Intensive ideopolitical activity has been going on in all environments in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, especially in those where open enemy attacks took place, in order to explain the substance of these demonstrations and the damage they inflicted on our entire society. However, this activity has not been intensive and extensive enough in all environments—this was the assessment made today during the consultative meeting of the presidents of the Socialist Alliance municipal conferences Presidia, held in the building of the provincial conference in Pristina on the eve of the resumption of lessons in primary schools. Reference was also made to the preparations for the beginning of lessons in the secondary schools, says the statement on the session, issued tonight.

Serbian Festivities Described as 'Tasteless'
AU0704075689 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 30 Mar 89 p 2

[Julijana Pispecka commentary: "In the Shadow of the Constitution"]

[Text] Since yesterday, after the promulgation of Amendments 9 to 49 of the republican Constitution, the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia has become a united socialist republic within the frmaework of the SFRY, with two autonomous provinces and with state powers over its entire territory. The return to statehood and constitutional sovereignty surely represents an exceptionally historical event, because this ensures that the SR of Serbia is a state and a self-managing community, enabling it to carry out essential functions throughout the entire territory of the republic at the same time the essence of the autonomous provinces is consistently expressed, so that their two functions are represented—as integral parts of the SR of Serbia and as constituent elements of the Yugoslav federation.

Therefore, once can understand why the promulgation of the amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia in the Sava Center were festively and loudly welcomed. In this respect, one should know that the two militiamen who died in the bloody Kosovo demonstrations were not forgotten in the celebrations, as last respects were paid to them with a minute's dignified silence. Finally, one can also understand the Belgrade Socialist Alliance city organization's decision and announcement that because of the latest dramatic events in Kosovo, the envisaged rich and festive cultural and art program that had been organized to celebrate the promulgation of the constitutional amendments would be limited.

However, the euphoria which followed the promulgation of the Constitution in Belgrade, in some other parts of the SR of Serbia, and in other parts of the country left a very unpleasant taste. It was really a little sickening and tasteless that this could be seen and heard in a direct television relay from the Belgrade streets. While in this town there was a holiday atmosphere, songs, and dances to celebrate "this historic act" for Serbia, on other television channels and radio stations, the Yugoslav public was following the disturbing and tragic reports from Kosovo with shock and worry; blood was shed there in the clashes between the security forces and the Albanian counterrevolutionaries. Many mothers, whose sons from all parts of the country were sent to Kosovo to protect the integrity of Yugoslavia—and that also means of the SR of Serbia—awaited the latest news from this restless region with a heavy heart. It was incomprehensible in all this that the constitutional victory of Serbia—which was after all given the full support of all the Yugoslav republics and provinces—could be celebrated in this way, in such serious and painful circumstances. What was also quite confusing were some statements by political officials in the SR of Serbia which gave the impression that Serbia had not had a Constitution at all for the last 4 decades and that it had attained its freedom and statehood for the first time.

The drama in Kosovo nevertheless must bring us all to our senses. It is entering its most critical stage, and passions should no longer prevail over raw reality.

The fireworks and tear gas which marked this day of the promulgation of the constitutional amendments put the bloody Kosovo wound in the shadow of the Constitution, as if Belgrade had forgotten about this wound.

The promulgation of the constitutional amendments certainly represents a significant act; it is quite understandable that it was celebrated in a festive way. However, this should mean something different, at least at a time when calls and announcements are coming from the highest organs asking everyone who lives here—in these difficult moments, which are crucial for the future of the country—to resist the sinister aims of and calls by Albanian nationalists and separatists for mass action, to be alert, and not to allow themselves to fall into hostile hands.

One should maintain more dignity and always avoid tasteless scenes when war is waged in one part of the republic and one sings and dances in another, before the eyes of the entire Yugoslav public.

Latvian Delegation Pays Visit to Serbia
LD1004124989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1110 GMT 10 Apr 89

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Apr (TANJUG)—The talks today between Dr Desimir Jevtic, president of the Serb Executive Council, and Vilnis Bresis, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, marked the beginning of the 3-day visit to Serbia by a delegation from this Soviet republic. It was noted that present cooperation between Serbia and Latvia within the framework of the overall relations between the SFRY and the USSR could serve as a sound basis for the further development of economic relations and commodity exchange. It was stressed in particular that far from all existing opportunities had been taken advantage of so far, especially in machine building, electronics, agriculture, tourism, the construction and chemical industries, and pharmaceutical production. During its stay, the Latvian delegation will visit Minel, in Belgrade; Simpo, in Vranje; and the Pozarevac agricultural and industrial combine in Pozarevac. The delegation will also visit Suncane Vrhove, the Genex tourist complex on Mt Kopaonik.

Slovenian Reorganization Plan Deemed Unacceptable
LD0904132389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1252 9 Apr 89

[Text] Belgrade, April 9 (TANJUG)—Ideologists from Slovenia "are openly offering a purely confederalist concept with pronounced separatist characteristics", a prominent member of the political team of Serbian party leader Slobodan Milosevic said in a highly critical article in the Belgrade daily POLITIKA today.

In the article headed "Who Resents a United Serbia", Slobodac Vucetic, an official of the Serbian Socialist Alliance, the largest socio-political organization in the republic, said that "the Slovenian scheme of a reorganized Yugoslavia is absolutely unacceptable for the Serbs".

Vucetic warns that legitimizing a Yugoslavia "in which only the Army and foreign policy would be federal functions, and other matters subject to negotiation with an unlimited right of veto would expose members of nations living outside their native republic to assimilation".

In Yugoslavia, a typical example of such dispersion are the Serbs, who all live in the territories of other republics, mostly in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia.

When the deliberately provoked mists and confusion surrounding political disputes and the causes of the economic crisis are dispersed, said Vucetic, it remains to be seen which concept will win: a federalist concept urged by Serbia, or a confederalist concept called for primarily by Slovenia.

To substantiate his claim, Vucetic cites the latest initiatives in a wing of the ruling League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) "to practically transform it (LCY) into an alliance of independent repubican and provincial parties, with consensus as the principle of mutual relations."

In view of the fact that a multiparty system, in fact on a national basis, is already present on the Slovenian political scene, it is then clear who has a finished "scenario" for reorganizing Yugoslavia's political system, he underlined.

Frantic resistance in some parts of the country, particularly visible in Slovenia, to Serbia—divided by the 1974 Constitution—reestablishing unity and statehood on its entire territory is an attempt to block the concept of true federalism urged by the Serbian leadership; Vucetic notes.

"Serbia does not want, nor does it need any bureaucratic or other centralism in Yugoslavia, least of all any form of outvoting on the part of one nation or national hegemonism". However, Vucetic underlines, it wants equality, its own and that of the other nations, and such a concept which, instead of the present confederalist divisions, would lead to a democratic federation".

Now, when Serbia's Constitution is enacted, some resent the fact that its provinces will no longer be a priori against their parent republic, Vucetic said. Only such could see Albanian separatists fighters for AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia, he concludes, recalling the address by Slovenian party leader Milan Kucan in the Cankar Centre in Ljubljana during the miners' strike in Kosovo.

Slovene LC Addresses Nature of Congress
LD0704214589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1421 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 7 Apr (TANJUG)—The Slovene League of Communists [LC] Central Committee is today discussing the guidelines and stands for stimulating self-managing market socialism, and the preparations for the congresses of the Slovene LC and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY]. Vlado Klemencic, who gave an introductory speech, said that the prime question is how to earn more by better work and management. This Central Committee should search for an answer to this question, although it is not our goal and duty to make an operational model, but to clarify ideological dilemmas and to decide on the right direction of thinking and the principle means, Klemenic said.

One should seek the answer to the question of how to achieve better results, which can be the sole real basis for increasing personal incomes and standards of living. On can also emerge from the crisis by removing those

obstacles in every environment which have previously demoralized working people. Foremost attention should be payed to motivation in self-managing society.

Discussing the premises, elaborated for 2 years by a special working group, the Slovene LC Central Committee, Klemencic said, proposes the introduction of a specific labor market. The term, "specific," is meant to convey the dual role of a worker, whereby he comanages and carries out adopted decisions. In the light of motivation, it is the very duality of personal income which turns this into a specific thing. Part of the personal income would come from current work; another part would be linked to bonds, stocks, and securities, which would depend on the profits and market trends in the value of the assests of the factory which employs the workers. The affirmation of the motivation factors which facilitate the recognition of market rules is the prerequisite for a renewed policy of personal incomes and employment.

The recognition of market rules, taken as a basis, also demands the transformation of some parts of self-management, but not its termination. Having said this, we do not view self-management as the deciding factor on the amount of one's own personal income, Klemencic said. He also added that work relations are no longer regarded exclusively as self-managing relations between an individual and a collective. Klemencic stressed that the amount of personal income should be a matter of market harmonization under social regulations as long as the work relations between an individual and a collective will respect the functioning of the market. Such solutions are not at odds with self-management, as they certainly represent a divorce from the key parts of a managed economy and the introduction of market rules of behavior. [passage omitted]

Milan Kucan said in the concluding part of the discussion that it is good to open this issue and to initiate a debate, because in the final analysis this issue is closely related to the issue of the further development of the socialist system and a decision about what kind of socialism we want. In no case should we forget the dangers behind various concepts of property relations, Kucan said. Specifically, pluralism of forms of ownership could, at the worst, lead to the reintroduction of capitalism and to the privatization of society, but we should not forget the more real danger of a return to state ownership and to relations based on it.

Speaking about preparations for congresses of the Slovene LC and of the LCY, Slavko Sorsak said that political events in Slovenia and Yugoslavia, and especially events in Kosovo, have caused concern, fear, and anger in Slovenia. However, although the situation in Kosovo is still difficult, we should return to issues on which the destiny of this state depends, the battle with inflation and overcoming the crisis. Social reform, on the need for which there is wide agreement in Yugoslavia, is again at the center of attention.

According to Sorsak, the last session of the republican assembly expressed delegates' concern for the lives of people in Kosovo regardless of the nation or nationality to which they belong. The session expressed the fear of the spread of such a situation to other parts of Yugoslavia, and anger at the celebration of the proclamation of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia when, at the same time, dramatic events were taking place in Kosovo. The Slovene public, as well as the Slovene Assembly, are suprised that reproaches for the attack on the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] have been revived. A document submitted by the old Federal Executive Council [FEC] to the SFRY Assembly is involved. This document is similar to the one discussed in several SFRY bodies a year ago and about which attitudes were formed. Hence, any new discussion leads to an exacerbation of relations between Slovenia and the YPA. This poses the question: In whose interest is this at this moment and what are its aims, Sorsak stressed.

Mentioning that the Slovene LC discussed problems of the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo on several occasions, Sorsak stressed that the development of Kosovo and overcoming problems in the province is our joint task. However, not everyone has the same opportunities and responsibilities for resolving this problem.

The national conflict in Kosovo, Sorsak maintained, can only be solved by democratic means and methods, by promoting and consolidating a state with the rule of law, and by creating conditions for democratic communication among the people. The resolving of the Kosovo problems is characterized by long-term prospects, while short-term measures are necessary and needed. They cannot, however, have lasting effects unless they are part of long-term efforts for the faster economic and social development of the province and for consistent implementation of the reforms. If we agree that the introduction of the measures in Kosovo was justified, Sorsak added, we should from now on work intensively to normalize the situation in Kosovo.

In regard to the demand of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Conference to convene an extraordinary LCY Congress, Sorsak stressed that the 14th LCY Congress should be a premature one and not an extraordinary or regular one. He maintained that such a solution should satisfy both those who propose a premature congress and those who favor an extraordinary one. Whatever the term may be, the date of the congress remains the same. The enunciation of the Vojvodina Communists' demands represents, in fact, a set of reasons for convening a regular congress, since the reasons they have revealed are not convincing enough. The explanation mentions the antibureacratic revolution which has been carried out in some environments, something that can be understood, according to Sorsak, as though similar process should be speeded up by an extraordinary congress in other parts of society as well.

The differences in the LC cannot be resolved quickly nor can they be outvoted at the congress itself. They should be resolved in the precongress period, which should be a time of synthesis. If the dispute—whether the congress is regular or extraordinary—continues, the possibilities of synthesis will be reduced substantially.

Speaking about the preparations for the congresses of the Slovene LC and the LCY, Sorsak stressed that the documents about the renewal of the LC should be at the focus of attention of precongress debates. Through these documents, we articulate in a new way our attitude toward socialism and the role of the LC under the new circumstances. In this respect, the congresses will shatter stereotypes about socialism, ideology, and the LC's organization and vanguard position. This will be a sharp turn in the perception of the LC's role. In Sorsak's opinion, the congresses can be compared with the contents of the 6th, 7th, and 11th LCY congresses. That is, the renewal of the LC implies the essence of all the aforementioned congresses, and is, in fact, their continuation in terms of development, but also a discontinuation as far as our negative practice is concerned.

The forthcoming 11th Congress of the Slovene LC will be held, most probably, in November this year. It will be regular and premature because of the character of the 14th LCY Congress, Sorsak said. It should address three key questions: What kind of socialism we want, what kind of a federation and federalism we want, and what the LC should look like. Three documents will be prepared for the Slovene Communists' congress—"Plan and Program of the Tasks of the Slovene LC", "Report of the Slovene LC Central Committee on the Activity of the Slovene LC Between the 10th and 11th Congress," and "Changes and Addenda to the Statute of the Slovene LC." "The planning program" should replace the resolutions which have been made so far, be short and to the point, and in a new nondogmatic language, formulate the Slovene LC's attitude toward the development of a future Yugoslav and Slovene society. This document should also assign a new role to the LC in the context of political pluralism by breaking the links with the state and winning the confidence of the people. [passage omitted]

Joze Smole said the initiative of the Vojvodina Communists was in accordance with the statute, and the provincial committee has the right to demand an extraordinary congress. He stressed, however, that he was, because of his personal principles, against extraordinary congresses and the logic of extraordinary measures. The euphoria of extraordinary congresses cannot solve, by their extraordinary methods, the questions of social crisis. There is a fundemental question, Smole said, of whether the demands for an extraordinary congress are demagogic slogans and the spreading of delusions about the possibility of overcoming the crisis, or are an attempt to radically change relations within the LCY, to abolish equality and introduce majority rule in order to discipline some parts of the LC, in this case the LC of Slovenia. Smole added that he rejected the assessments of the provincial committee about the role of the Slovene Communists within the LCY. He also asked whether the reform of the LCY would set out to enforce the state as he recalled the pressures Slovenia was experiencing for its political pluralism. [passage ommited]

Speaking about the extraordinary state of affairs in Yugoslavia and about who is responsible for it, Debenjak said that the responsible ones are those who wish to compensate by an extraordinary congress for all the things they missed at the Belgrade meeting. An extraordinary state in the LCY is not coming out of thin air, he added, but rather in an elaborated way due to a lack of answers to the questions which ought be answered.

The proposal for the convening of an extraordinary congress on the part of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee was not motivated by a desire to plant divisions among the LCY, Stanko Radmilovic stressed as he took part in the debate. Neither was it motivated by an attempt to have yet another extraordinary case, nor by a concept of the LC to "export" antibureaucratic revolution. He also noted that at the time the proposal for convening an extraordinary congress was made, there were as yet no extraordinary measures in Kosovo. There are two reasons, according to Radmilovic, for the convening of an extraordinary congress; one should respect the right of a part of the LCY to place such a demand and the fact should be underlined that this congress will not be a routine but an appropriate congress for the deeply crisis-stricken situation we have found ourselves in.

Milan Kucan assessed that nobody has denied the Vojvodina LC's legitimate right to carry out its statutory right. What is important is that the congress will be in December and how we make use of the time prior to the congress. If we are to begin the congress in an angry mood, this will spell fiasco and schism rather than democratic syntheses. We should persevere with the concept of the LCY and the faith that Yugoslavia needs fundamental reforms, Kucan said.

A conclusion was adopted after the debate on the preparations for the 11th Congress of the Slovene LC to be held in November. The preparations for the congress will be made by the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium, which should prepare all the documents and set up commissions.

The stands of the Slovene LC Central Committee were also adopted on the initiative of the Vojvodina LC provincial organization for the convening of an extraordinary congress of the LCY. It is said in the stands, among other things, that each republican and provincial organization has the right to propose the convening of extraordinary congress of the LCY, so the demand of the conference of the Vojvodian LC represents its legitimate right. It was also said that the reasons given in the proposal of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee lack credibility. The Slovene LC also maintains that on

the occasion of decisionmaking at the session of the LCY Central Committee, all the proposals and arguments should be treated equally—those for an extraordinary, a premature, and a regular congress.

Kusan Closes Session

LD0804033589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2039 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 7 Apr (TANJUG)—At the end of today's session, Presidium President Milan Kucan emphasized the rumors concerning the "healthy forces" in the Slovene LC CC [League of Communists Central Committee] Presidium—a topic extensively covered by MLADINA's latest issue. Pointing to the fact that each of the members and executive secretaries of the LC Presidium had had talks with individual LC members and nonmembers as part of their work, Kucan said that this method had produced good results in the past, and consequently it would continue to be used. One such conversation was held in late February with some former members of the Slovene LC CC and long-time officials in the LC's of Slovenia and Yugoslavia. A number of needless and unsubstantiated stories are circulating now, and the press is alluding to so-called "healthy forces" that have allegedly emerged to discipline this Central Committee and its Presidium. MLADINA wrote about this in a completely arbitrary and irresponsible way, Kucan said. He added that he did not wish to dwell on the reasons why the authors and editors had published their arbitrary interpretation, which was a sheer fabrication and attempt at manipulation; it was almost a campaign against some comrades. This has been waged continuously and without reason for some time now.

The talks took place under the shadow of the Kosovo situation; the day after the "Canker Hall;" the day of the Belgrade rally; the setting up of a political alliance in Slovenia and Yugoslavia, actually in Croatia; the demand for convening an LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia]; and the beginning of the debate on two Slovene LC documents—on political pluralism and on the renewal of the Slovene LC—Kucan said. In such circumstances, we took the initiative to make an assessment of this situation and to discuss possible ways of resolving it, to test these assessments and solutions in this sort of conversation. The discussion focused on the strategic issues reflected in the key question: What kind of socialism do we want? What kind of Slovenia do we want? What kind of Yugoslavia do we want? In the framework of these talks, there was a debate on Kosovo; the relations in and with the SR [Socialist Republic] of Serbia in connection with the Constitution; our relations and disputes with the Yugoslav People's Army; political pluralism; our attitudes toward the programs and the political commitments of some political alliances in Slovenia, in particular regarding the prospects of the SAWP [Socialist Alliance of Working People] as the successor to the positive traditions of the "Liberation Front" [the wartime coalition comprising a number of political parties in Slovenia]; and about the renewal of the LC and the fate of, or more precisely the prospects for, social ownership in socialist self-management, etc.

Kucan added that the talks are not over because he had to leave for an LCY CC Presidium session in Belgrade, which was already under pressure from a rally going on outside the SFRY Assembly. The session was, according to Kucan, dedicated to the debate in the "Cankar Hall" and the demands put forward by the Belgrade rally participants. The result of this meeting could be seen in the statement which was issued, that is, these things are known, Kucan said. These talks were adjourned with an agreement that the discussion of these topics would be resumed, he added.

Milan Kucan then drew attention to the debate on the document about the renewal of the LC and about the prospects and future of our organization. We want to invite all members of the public who are interested in thinking about the future of Slovene society as a socialist, self-managing, equal, and constituent part of the SFRY to participate in this debate. This is not just a draft on the renewal of the LC, Kucan stressed, but also refers to the renewal of Slovene society. This is why we want to pool forces in Slovenia and, on a larger scale, in our society as well.

Differentiation and driving people away have never been our political motto, Milan Kucan said, as he added that this is the reason why they advocate association, a creative association of people in the LC. This is how we reacted last autumn when a group of young intellectuals left the Slovene LC. There were talks with them, and we still maintain close working contacts with them. We do not let anybody impose on us the differentiation method or sow divisions among us, Kucan said, and we particularly do not let those who have nothing in common with the LC organization. If they think or need to believe that it is necessary for their internal relations to be overwhelmed by an unprincipled search for the enemies among them, and consequently by the political destruction of enemies, then we should say by all means that it is their problem alone. Our organization, Kucan said, has unfortunately experienced tragic and historic consequences in this respect.

We will continue to work with the people with whom we have worked so far, regardless of, or exactly because of, the fact we do not share the same opinions and that we let each other's critical thinking influence our stands, commitments, and conduct since we are willing to help each other. The organization is not owned by this Presidency and even less by me, Kucan stressed, so there are no grounds for denying anyone the right to speak if he wishes to do so. In the same way, we wil not renounce our right to talk about our work with those whom we regard as having opinions we might use. I also believe, Kucan said, that there is nothing especially democratic about driving the people who think diffferently out of the

organization. By accepting this logic, all our commitments to democracy within the LC, and particularly to the recognition of a minority's right to have its own opinion, would be annulled.

Milan Kucan spoke against the use of the term "healthy forces" because, among other things, he could not accept that this Central Committee and its Presidium are "patients who should be treated, if not buried and replaced by healthy forces."

If we ever have arguments and split up, this will be done by ourselves, on the basis of our own opinions and not because we are blinded by other people's provocations; we will absolutely not do this just to benefit and satisfy them, Milan Kucan concluded.

Slovene Referendum 'More Than Satisfactory'

AU0704151789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Apr 89 p 1

[Zdravko Huber commentary: "Democracy Without Pomp"]

[Text] Now, it can already be said quite definitely that the Slovene exercise in democracy has produced more than satisfactory results.

It is true that the referendum under the auspices of the Socialist Alliance was some kind of shortcut by which the Assembly was to a certain extent presented with a fait accompli and led into the situation of formally deciding on what had actually been decided on another occasion—on a general referendum. However, this small error in putting the new socialist democracy into practice really should be taken lightly. It is a consequence of the desire to find ways of holding the widest vote possible among citizens on the personality of the future head of state within the framework of the existing constitutional-system regulations, which are not that inclined toward forms of direct democracy.

The two names on the final list for member of the SFRY Presidency from the Socialist Republic of Slovenia were obviously a tempting democratic bait which the Slovene electorate was ready to bite. It is true that the figure of 87.84 percent of all adult citizens in this republic who had a real choice this time is no great novelty in comparison with the statistics rating of earlier socialist "votes." The difference is that a response by 90 percent or more of registered voters was the result of pompous political propaganda directed at the deepest patriotic sentiments of citizens. Circling the names of the proposed candidates for national power was presented as the most sacred debt and obligation to the homeland, which protected it from domestic and foreign enemies.

The new democratic elections in Slovenia were not accompanied by this propaganda embellishment but, as we see, a great response was not lacking. This time, it was obviously not caused by kindling pathetic patriotic feelings, but by giving people's real political instinct the chance to really choose and decide on who would lead them. Although, until recently, official ideologies and doctrine promoted the idea that delegate elections, in which the delegates actually choose each other, are a higher historical form of democracy, it has been shown that the so-called ordinary person does have the desire to directly say whom he considers to be suitable for the most senior leaderships.

One should obviously not doubt the people's readiness for democracy. The only question is whether those who hold the monopoly of power are just as ready to open up democratically.

Slovene Alliance Rebuts Statement on Media

AU0704204089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Apr 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "'Correspondence' About Information"]

[Text] The Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People [RCSAWP] of Slovenia was acquainted today with a letter received from the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Macedonia. The letter "notes with concern that despite the SFRY Presidency appeal to discontinue the interethnic disputes and divisions, these go on, which causes great damage to the further development of brotherhood and unity among our peoples and nationalities, and to the international prestige of our country. In these activities, no means and no words are too low to insult and discredit individuals and the entire leadership in some republics. Unfortunately, public information media are used in these activities as the strongest weapon." In its letter, the RCSAWP of Macedonia particularly takes exception to articles in MLADINA, which, "with its latest destructive behavior and its reshaping of the SFRY, arouses fresh suspicions about the sincerity of some forces in brotherly socialist Slovenia in preserving the sovereignty and integrity of the country and its further development on AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles."

In its reply, the Presidium of the RCSAWP of Slovenia says, among other things, that the Presidium of the RCSAWP agrees with the statement that any behavior introducing strife and intolerance among our peoples and nationalities is unacceptable and irresponsible, that unfortunately many information media in the republics and provinces use untruths and fabrications precisely when reporting from other communities, and that this kind of writing was directed chiefly against Slovenia recently, which has already caused harmful consequences. "With utmost resolution, we opposed at once such occurrences in the Slovene media, but of course we cannot agree with the completely one-sided warning in

your letter, in which you particularly stress only the writing in MLADINA or Slovene information media in general, instead of all who act in this way...."

Bucin Named Montenegrin Candidate for Presidency
LD1004142389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1312 GMT 10 Apr 89

[Text] Titograd, 10 Apr (TANJUG)—Nenad Bucin received most of the votes during the referendum in Montenegro in which the citizens expressed their views on the candidates for membership of the SFRY Presidency from this republic.

His final election as a member of the Yugoslav state Presidency will take place on 14 April during the session of all the chambers of the republican assembly.

Bozovic Elected New Titograd LC President
LD0704175289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1359 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Titograd, 7 Apr (TANJUG)—Srdjan Bozovic, formerly municipal secretary for finance, has been elected new president of the Titograd League of Communists Municipal Committee.

Two candidates had been proposed for the function of president of the largest party organization in Montenegro. Bozovic won the votes of 27 members of the new municipal committee, while his rival Radonic collected 12 votes.

Drafts Approved for Montenegro Special Congress
LD0904165289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 8 Apr 89

[Text] The Committee for the Preparation of the 10th Special Congress of the League of Communists [LC] of Montenegro in Titograd today approved the final version of the draft congress documents. During a public debate, the LC members in that republic stressed that they expected the 10th congress to unfold in a creative dialogue. The text of the proposed documents analyzes in detail the situation in society and in the LC, and provides basic guidelines for actions to overcome the crisis. Most observations regarding the draft are only of a formal nature, so it will not be difficult to modify it. The draft congress documents will be discussed and hopefully approved during the next session of the Montenegro LC Central Committee in the middle of next week. The draft will then be forwarded to the delegates of the special congress, which will be held on the 24 and 25 of this month in Titograd.

Drnovsek Supports 'More Intensive' EC Ties
LD0704203589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1900 GMT 7 Apr 89

["Pool" item]

[Text] Ljubljana, April 7 (TANJUG)—In the Yugoslav Presidency I shall initiate a proposal for the earliest possible establishment of more intensive contacts with all European integrations, as I believe that Yugoslavia's firmer status in Europe cannot harm its position in the Nonaligned Movement, future president of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Janez Drnovsek, 39, told TANJUG in an interview on Friday.

I do not doubt that we shall find our European partners ready to intensify our contacts, he said, adding that, in the short run, he sees the greatest chances in getting closer to the European trade association.

On April 2 this year, Drnovsek was elected member of the state Presidency from the Republic of Slovenia in what was the first direct voting by secret ballot for such a high office in the postwar period. According to the established rotation order, he will take over the office for a one-year term on May 15, as the youngest president of Yugoslavia's top collective state leadership.

Yugoslavia will properly organize the ninth nonaligned summit in Belgrade next September, thus again fulfilling its international commitment, in spite of the economic and political difficulties, stated Drnovsek. He said that Yugoslavia's endeavour within the movement should be directed towards concrete economic objectives, especially a settlement of the developing countries' debtor crisis.

Pointing out that the Presidency of Yugoslavia in its new composition would back and supplement the initiatives of Ante Markovic's new federal government for tackling Yugoslavia's indebtedness problem, Drnovsek forecast that in the next five years the country could bring down its foreign debt to a level which would not burden the economy so heavily as up to now. A new Yugoslav initiative in this field would quite certainly meet with favourable world reaction, especially if accompanied by a good economic programme at home, he assessed.

Yugoslavia must first settle its economic problems, stressed the Slovenian official, noting that this would help curb political confrontations. I am confident that a Yugoslav synthesis is possible, but instead of recriminations and mutual disqualifications, we should establish a tolerant dialogue in the state and learn to live with some differences, he said.

Urging the market orientation in dealing with economic problems, he described the establishment of new financial mechanisms, including a security market, as a basis for joining the world financial market which would result, among other things, in a convertible dinar.

Drnovsek also offered his vision of Yugoslavia at the close of the 20th century, saying he wants it to be a democratic state with an independent and fair legal system, included also in other organizations besides the Nonaligned Movement, and "with its place in the European Common Market." He estimate that Yugoslavia would retain its selfmanagement socialist system and develop some new forms of political pluralism consistent with it.

Drnovsek urged the earliest possible lifting of the special measures imposed by the Yugoslav Presidency in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo on February 27, following the wave of ethnic Albanian strikes and demonstrations staged by chauvinists and separatists. Political moves in Kosovo must be calm and fair so as not to cause any new injustices to anyone living there, or to give reason for a new strining and revanchist activities, he added.

According to Drnovsek's "scenario," this should be followed by an economic consolidation of Kosovo, the least developed region of the country. He believes that the Yugoslav Government is bound to work out a special programme of such consolidation, in view of the untenable situation when such a high (ethnic Albanian) birthrate is set against such a poor economic performance.

Drnovsek disagreed with comments seeing his entry into the Yugoslav Presidency in Belgrade as the beginning of a new confrontation in the country, notably between Slovenia and Serbia. True, I offer a new approach in shaping Yugoslavia as a modern, economically viable and Europe-oriented state, but all the time I stress the wish for a constructive understanding and peaceable settlement of outstanding political issues in the country, said Drnovsek just over a month before taking over as president of Yugoslavia's top collective state leadership.

Commission Discusses Relationship With EC

AU0704185089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Yugoslavia and the European economic integration groups was the subject of a joint session of the Commission for International Relations and Cooperation of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia and the Section for International Relations and Cooperation of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Serbia. Dragan Colovic covered this meeting.

Dr Miodrag Trajkovic, assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs, who made the opening speech, answered the question of whether Yugoslavia could be a full member of the EC, replying in the negative. The reasons are primarily political in nature and concern the principles and functions of foreign policy and defense in the EC countries, which are unacceptable for us.

This does not mean, however, that Yugoslavia should blindly adhere to the existing, so-called sui-generis model of cooperation with the Twelve. This model, it was said, should be improved in line with the actual processes that are occurring in Europe. In this sense, it was pointed out that functional links between Yugoslavia and the EC countries were acceptable, through standardization of Yugoslav products and services according to the demands of the extremely choosy European market, development of joint production, trade, and scientific and technical programs of cooperation, including ecology.

However, in order to join in the European integration processes more quickly and as equally as possible, a more efficient structural adjustment of the Yugoslav economy is needed. There are no obstacles to Yugoslavia's abovementioned functional joining of the EC, as well as the other two European economic groups, EFTA and CEMA, but, of course, with the preservation of our social essence and political integrity.

In this connection, it was pointed out that it is necessary to shed various ideological, political, and other prejudices against these processes. In this context, the need for a more intensive development of Serbia's regional cooperation with some regions of the Danubian countries was particularly stressed. This is indicated not only by political and economic interests and reasons, but by cultural and historical traditions as well. The links betweem Serbia and some Danubian countries cannot be erased overnight, despite the psychological and other barriers emanating from unpleasant and even tragic experiences with these countries in the distant and recent past.

Loncar Assesses Nonaligned Summit Preparations

LD0704175889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1630 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Belgrade, April 7 (TANJUG)—Preparations for the ninth non-aligned summit, to be held from September 4 to 7 this year in Belgrade, are well underway and progressing normally—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar stated today in Belgrade.

In talks with editors of Yugoslav newspapers foreign policy sections, Loncar said that these preparations are one of priorities in Yugoslavia's foreign policy activities and that there are no delays in their carrying out. Loncar also said that intensive consultations are in progress with many non-aligned countries on preparations of draft documents for the ninth non-aligned summit, including the political declaration. From May 17 to 19 a concept of the ninth non-aligned summit is to be verified in Harare and an agreement reached on the framework of its agenda.

During the ministerial meeting in Harare, committees for economic questions and streamlining the movement will also meet. The first will discuss problems concerning North-South relations, particularly the question of debts, while the second committee will discuss the movement's modernization.

Speaking on the effect of internal political events on Yugoslavia's foreign political activities, Loncar said that the Yugoslav diplomacy invests daily efforts towards eliminating negative effects which events in the province of Kosovo and the divisions in the country have on Yugoslavia's international position .

Loncar assessed relations with neighbours as good, except for relations with Albania.

Dizdarevic To Address Joint Assembly Session
LD1004105989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1009 GMT 10 Apr 89

[Text] Belgrade, 10 April (TANJUG)—A joint session of the Federal Chamber and the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly will be held on 20 April. Raif Dizdarevic, SFRY Presidency president, will present the stances of the country's top state organ on the internal situation and on the SFRY's international position.

Presidium Adopts Document on LCY Transformation
LD0704165389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1416 GMT 6 Apr 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade 6 Apr (TANJUG)—Today at its session, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium adopted the document on the principles of the transformation of the LCY, on which a discussion will be held at the LCY Central Committee session at the end of next week. [passage omitted]

The first participant in the discussion, Dusan Ckrebic, advocated that the document underline to a greater degree the responsibility of sections of the LCY in building unity within the LCY and at its center, and that the position of any LC member be made completely clear. [passage indistinct]

Having agreed that the document is an acceptable basis for a debate, Milan Kucan summarized the discussion in the following way: We should answer more clearly the question of the kind of socialism we want; the fundamental production relations; relations between state, market, self-management, and political pluralism; and the role of subjective factors in fundamental production relations. The question is also one of what kind of political pluralism we need, not on the lines of a superseded dilemma over party or nonparty pluralism, but on the lines of the LCY program. Regarding Yugoslavia, we must ensure that within the changed relations, the equality of nations and nationalities is preserved, that is, that their comprehensive development is secured. Finally, we have to decide what relations we need within the LCY, so that it can be confirmed as a democratic force, so that it is a leading ideological force in the struggle of the working people, nations, and nationalities, designed according to the needs of man.

Explaining his position in more detail, Kucan said that for him, the key issue is the renewal of socialism and the project of socialist self-management in new conditions. He believes that it is necessary to answer the question about the crisis of socialism—whether it is a crisis of the idea, of conception, of model, or of ineffective implementation. The LCY reform must serve the aims of the social reforms. In order for free development and affirmation to be achieved, it is necessary to expose the LCY to merciless daily testing of its overall abilities. This would be the end of a view about monism, which caused great damage to the LC. This was the main cause of the bureaucratization of the LC.

Kucan believes that furture socialism will be a society of individual, creative, free, and responsible man, who sees in pluralism a source of wealth within the legal state, and not a curse of diversity. We need reforms so that, above all, he who lives from the results of his work can live more freely, creatively, and be more equal. For this reason, all relations in the LCY should provide for the efficient activity of Communists in democratically winning over a majority of the people in Yugoslavia to work on socialism designed according to the need of man. It should be stressed even more that in new and changed conditions, the LC will remain a united and pluralistic organization, so that it can campaign successfully in the struggle for socialism and for socialist self-managment. [passage omitted]

The constitutional regulation of pluralism is the prerequisite for the way out of the crisis, Silvano Bolcin said, stressing that as long as the LC acts as a party, the alternative organizations will also strive toward such activity. He stressed that we need a political pluralism which will ensure that sensible laws, whose application will yield favorable results, are passed in this country. [passage omitted]

Just as absolute political monopoly is untenable, political pluralism is unrestrainable, said Miroslav Pecujlic. He said that a society with competition between people and ideas is undoubtedly superior to a one-party one. Correlation between the ruling party and society has changed behind our backs, warned Pecujlic. The party deserves merit for the revolution, but it also bears responsibility for the crisis. [passage omitted]

Stressing that the transformation of the LC must include its reaffirmation as a revolutionary organization of the working class, and also serve to correct mistakes in the activity and development of the LC, Rahman Morina called for the forthcoming discussion to be more open about failures and mistakes of the LC because, he believes, these mistakes and failures left room for the activity of various antisocialist and anticommunist forces which have all forms of nationalism as their allies. The LC must attain its orientation on further development by a critical analysis. [passage omitted]

Nedeljko Sipovac devoted the largest part of his report to the realization of democratic centralism as the fundamental principle of the organization of the party's activity. In his opinion, this principle today calls for full evaluation and reaffirmation. Proceeding from this assessment, he opposed the parts of the document which do not allow, in some way, decisionmaking in LC organs by consensus. This would lead to an absurd situation in which LC organizations in republics and provinces would grow stronger at the expense of the uniform activity of the LCY.

When defining the aim of today's session and the entire all-party discussion, two questions are of key importance in Stefan Korosec's opinion: What kind of socialism we wish to have, and, depending on this, what the social role and position of the LC in society should be. We do not have a complete concept of this at present and will not have one for a long time, but what we do have are numerous points on which to anchor the concept of the renewal of socialism. True, this is an open process, but we already know that its essence is the man, his individual features, motivation, and creativity. In conditions of the creation of a new socialism, the most important thing is to ensure an adequate role for the LC. [passage omitted]

Winding up the discussion, Stipe Suvar said that a resume—specifying questions over which the Presidium is united and the ones over which there are differences—will be submitted to the LCY Central Committee. It is essential that this document be submitted for open public discussion so that the broadest party membership can actively participate in conceptualizing and realizing the transformation of the LCY.

Noting that "the basic guidelines for the transformation of the LC" will go through a process of changes and addenda during the congress itself, Suvar agreed with the already voiced assessments according to which the document is incomplete, but that at this moment it cannot be otherwise, because the LC must perceive its own transformation within the context of the entire social and economic reform and this entirety is not, theoretically speaking, viewed as an institution.

Today the LCY Central Committee Presidium also examined a report on the implementation of the LCY stands on Kosovo, on which there wil be a more detailed discussion at one of the next Presidium sessions. The Presidium also discussed preparations for the 22d session of the LCY Central Committee at the end of next week, which will examine the transformation of the LC and pass the decision on the convening and character of the forthcoming 14th LCY Congress.

Extraordinary Party Congress Deemed 'Necessary'
AU0904153289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 9 Apr 89

[Zivojin Jerotijevic commentary]

[Text] The next session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] scheduled for 14 April should make a final decision on the initiative of the extraordinary conference of the League of Communists [LC] of Vojvodina concerning the next LCY congress. This was preceded by a heated political discussion, during which the most controversial issue was the seemingly formal question: Will the congress be called extraordinary, the 14th, an early, or a regular congress? At times, it looked as if the name of this indeed inevitable party gathering was more important than its central theme.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium also discussed the congress on several occasions. The name of the congress caused the most disputes. Meanwhile, the majority of the LC Central and Provincial Committees held their sessions. The only certain thing so far is that the LCY congress will be held in December of this year, that the main theme will be a social reform and the transformation of the LC, that the delegates will be elected according to the same criteria used for the 13th congress, that the federal congress will be preceded by the republican and provincial party congresses, and that the committee for preparing the congress will have 63 members, including all the members of the party Presidium.

The question of the name of the next congress is not, of course, only a formal question. To a great extent, the name will determine the nature of preparations and the content of the documents which will be adopted at the congress. If, for instance, the dominant role in formulating the congress resolutions is played by the cadres, who basically reject the fact that we have an alarming situation and are more inclined to excessively relativize the notorious facts of life, it is clear that the congress documents will also have this kind of character. If, on the other hand, this job is entrusted to that majority in the LC, which believes that the present situation in Yugoslavia is very difficult in every sense, the congress documents will in turn reflect that kind of tone.

It seems that somewhat scholastic discussions on the seriousness of the political arguments for and against an extraordinary congress neglect to a great extent the fact that Yugoslav society is on the threshold of a historic crossroads, which requires it to precisely determine its future place in the world. The situation in which we lag behind should finally be stopped. We should make new advances in all spheres of life and work. In practical terms, this means that our society and the LC as its sole force of integration must finally say what kind of Yugoslavia we want, whether we want a federation or a confederation, and whether we want a system of political pluralism or the current political hermaphroditism, in which a one-party monopoly is reality while the formula for the nonparty political organization is only a demagogic phrase. And finally, the question of what kind of LC we want must be answered—should it continue to be a revolutionary or, as some people like to say, Bolshevik organization, or should it transform itself into a party which legalizes various ideological options and political factions.

There is also a question—in view of the fact that such ideas are being promoted—of how realistic it is to expect the LC to express unprecedented self-rescinding generosity and, in the name of some healthy competition, reenter the political struggle against other parties of perhaps opposite political orientations for the power that it has attained with a great deal of difficulty.

Finally, although they do not necessarily have to be last on the list, there are other questions: How are internal relations in the LC perceived? In which way should its ideological and action unity be built? What will remain of the principle of democratic centralism? Can even a modest consensus be the basic rule and method of political decisionmaking? And finally, something that is particularly important, which social structure would be the political base for the LC, and what would remain of its—at present—constitutionally established leading ideopolitical position in society?

There are too many questions which cannot be fully answered even by the fourth version of a document on the reform of the LC, which should enter a public debate after the LCY Central Committee session. However, the complexity of these questions and the uncertainty which we as society face justify the need for convening an extraordinary congress of the LCY, because however skillful we may be in interpreting things, the situation is, after all, not ordinary. The demands do not stem from a normal situation. They are historic. What is demanded are urgent and clear answers. In brief, deceiving ourselves will not help. An extraordinary party congress is necessary.

Mujezinovic, USSR Envoy Discuss Economic Ties

LD1004093189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0808 GMT 10 Apr 89

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Apr (TANJUG)—Dzevad Mujezinovic, member of the Federal Executive Council, has received Vadim Loginov, the USSR ambassador to Yugoslavia, at his request. During their meeting, they discussed the state of bilateral economic relations and chances for their improvement, as well as preparations for the ninth conference of heads of state or government of the nonaligned countries, to be held in Belgrade.

DPRK's Kim Yong-nam To Visit 10-12 Apr

LD0704154689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1014 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Belgrade, April 7 (TANJUG)—Vice-Premier of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Korean Workers' Party Central Committee Politburo member Kim Yong-nam will pay an official visit to Yugoslavia from April 10 to 12, it was announced in Belgrade on Friday.

Kim Yong-Nam who is also foreign minister, arrives on the invitation of Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar.

Democratic Association Refused Registration

AU1004134889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 10 Apr 89

[Text] The Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Croatia has refused, in a regular procedure, the demand of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative to register in the register of citizens' associations. The explanation given states that it is obvious from the application, program documents, statute, and manifesto that the purpose and aims of the association are political and cultural activities, and therefore, according to the law, it does not have the character of a citizens' association.

Alliance President Rejects Multiparty System

LD0704173289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1458 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Kikinda, April 7 (TANJUG)—The situation in the Yugoslav Autonomus Province of Kosovo is improving, but it will take some time to achieve a full stabilization of the situation, said Bozidar Colakovic, the president of the Socialist Alliance—the largest sociopolitical organization in the country, during talks with Kikinda political activists.

The progressive public in Yugoslavia and abroad believes that the introduction of special measures in Kosovo was justified because possible inter-nationality clashes were (?prevented) Colakovic said.

Speaking on constitutional changes, Colakovic said that there are theses that the Republic of Serbia, of which Kosovo is a part, is solely responsible for the situation in the province. It is true that Serbia will now be able to do more than it could have in the past, but it is the duty of the whole of Yugoslavia to settle the situation in Kosovo, he said.

It is not possible to introduce a multi-party system in Yugoslavia, Colakovic said. In view of past experiences, we know it would lead to much deeper, dangerous divisions. Beside the League of Communists, no other political force could secure cohesion and maximum unity in Yugoslavia, Colakovic said.

'Silence' of Croatian Politics Analyzed

AU0804153089 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 8 Apr 89

[Report by Zagreb correspondent Nino Kosutic]

[Text] The impression arises that with the incomprehensible banning of the magazine START, which published an interview with Miroslav Solevic, the interrogation of Simo Dubajic of Knin after he stated that he was a Serbian nationalist, and the emphatically pacifying noises and statements made by some personalities of the so-called antibureaucratic revolution, the official Croatian policy is attaining a new status in present Yugoslav relations.

Most questions refer to why Croatia keeps silent, or rather, what it is saying or wants to say. In waiting for the results of political practice, well-known public and professional workers offer their own answers, most frequently wrapped in analyses of the Yugoslav political situation.

Dr Dusan Bilandzic has pointed out the fact that Yugoslavia tried to escape the snares of state socialism 40 years ago, but it was among the last to stay in it. In Bilandzic's opinion, there are forces in Yugoslavia that wish to shake off the shackles of the old system, and there are forces that wish to remain in it.

Dr Zdravko Tomac has also pointed out two chief political currents: one rests on a policy of revolutionary violence, and the other wants to act with respect toward the rule of law. This has caused a division in Yugoslav society between friends and foes. What causes fears more than this division is the fact that we have completely forgotten the civilized rules of political games. This is evidenced, among other things, by the fact that a nationality no longer feels that the motherland belongs to it.

Despite the silence of several years, the role of Croatian politics in all this is not negligible. One of the reasons is that silence is always eloquent in political life, because if nothing else, it leaves the door open for the expression of opposing views and opinions, without any criticism of the domestic circumstances.

The openness of alternative politics in Croatia has pointed out the possibility of great differences; these would provide grist to the mill of the advocates of political repression. In the opinion of Bilandzic, the way out is somewhere else, in a political and economic transformation that would be an unpleasant surprise for many.

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